

THE
MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Principal Librarian of the University of *Cambridge*.

Containing all his

WRITINGS,

Except the LIFE of *CICERO*:

Many of which were never before PUBLISHED.

VOL. IV.

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M.DCC.LII,

T H E

C O N T E N T S

Of the Fourth VOLUME.

- I. **G**ermana quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta quibus Romanorum veterum Ritus varii tam Sacri quam Profani, tum Græcorum atque Ægyptiorum nonnulli illustrantur, Romæ olim maxima ex parte collecta, ac Dissertationibus jam singulis instructa. His Appendicis item Loco adjuncta est Mumie Cantabrigiensis Descriptio.
- II. De Medicorum a quod Veteres Romanos degentium Conditione Dissertatio; contra Viros Celeberrimos Jac. Sponium & Rich. Meadum, M. D. D. Servilem atque ignobilem eam fuisse ostenditur.
- III. Dissertationis de Medicorum Romæ Degentium conditione ignobili & servili, contra Anonymos quosdam Notarum brevium, Responsionis, atque animadversionis Auctores, Defensio.
- IV. The Epistles of M. T. Cicero to M. Brutus, and of Brutus to Cicero: with the Latin Text on the opposite page, and English Notes to each Epistle, together with a prefatory Dissertation, in which the authority of the said Epistles is vindicated, and all the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Tunstall particularly considered and confuted.

ALMAE MATRI
ACADEMIAE CANTABRIGIENSI
ARTIVM OPTIMARVM ALTRICI
VIRTVTVM OMNIVM FAVTRICI

C V I

QVOSCVNQVE IN LITTERARVM STVDIIS
VEL PROGRESSVS FECERIT VEL PRAEMIA
ACCEPERIT SE PENITVS DEBERE PROFITETVR

CONYERS MIDDLETON

HOC OPVSCVLVM OTII ALIQVANDO SVI
OBLECTAMENTVM NEC IVVENTVTI
FORTASSE ACADEMICAЕ IAM INVILE
FVTVRVM

IN PERPETVVM OBSERVANTIAE SVAE
AC GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIVM

LIBENS MERITO

D. D. D.

P R Æ F A T I O.

CUM valetudinis olim confirmandæ causa, cœlum mutare; et litterarum studiis aliquandiu depositis, peregre proficisci decrevissem, tum ad Italiam illico iter tendere, ac Romæ urbium amœnissimæ otiari, mihi ante omnia placuit. Ut ad illam autem accessi, loci admonitu incitatus, splendorisque ejus prisce memoriam recolens, non tam ad novæ urbis ornamenta, magnifica eâ quidem et superba, quam ad antiquæ vestigia et monumenta perquirenda, memet contuli: quæ quidem omnia, etiamsi ab aliis descripta magnam sæpe voluptatem legenti antea dedissent, at oculis tamen subiecta, majorem mihi longe, res ipsas jam contemplanti, præbere sensi.

In hac igitur antiquitatis contemplatione pæne defixus, paucula statim quædam, ex urbis ruderibus effossa, artium veterum specimina, rituumque veterum instrumenta coemere cœpi: atque ab his initiis, sarcinulam paullatim quandam, qua in Angliam tandem instructus redirem, colligere statui: in qua tamen colligenda, non illud mihi propositum erat, ut ea solummodo, quæ materia aut opere præstarent, sed quæ eruditionem, ut aiunt, aliquam continerent, ritumve aliquem illustrarent, ad Bibliothecæ quasi meæ ornatum, compararem.

Etenim hoc peregrinantibus fere commune esse scimus, quæcunque in exteris terris rariora, aut regionis alicujus

alicujus propria sint, ea potissimum conquirere, Nummumque deportare; ut eorum deinde conspectu, locorum quos peragraverint memoriam revocare, atque itineris præteriti voluptatem quodammodo redintegrare possint. At vero ex omnibus Orbis terræ regionibus, ager certe Romanus res istiusmodi pretiosissimas, et litteratorum præcipue ingeniis accommodatissimas edit. Quippe aliæ terræ marmora, aurum, gemmasve fortasse, sed rudes tantum pariunt; hæc autem marmora in varias formas exquisite ficta, aurum eximio opere cœlatum, gemmas summo artificio sculptas, ex sese fundit: quorum ipse singulorum exempla sane haud pauca, dum in iis locis commorabar, ex ca effossa vidi.

Ex his autem agri Romani divitiis, neminem profecto de peregrinatoribus nostris, thesaurum inde deportasse credo, et rerum delectu et pretio magis æstimabilem, ac quem amicus meus nobilis, Horatius Walpole in Angliam nuper advexit; Juvenis, non tam generis nobilitate, ac paterni nominis gloria, quam ingenio, doctrina, et virtute propria illustris. Ille vero haud citius fere in patriam reversus est, quam de studiis meis, ut consueverat, familiariter per litteras quærens, mihi ultro de copia sua, quicquid ad argumenti mei rationem, aut libelli ornamentum pertineret, pro arbitrio meo utendum obtulit. Quam quidem ejus liberalitatem libenter admodum amplexus essem, ni operis hujus, jam prope absoluti, fastidio quodam correptus, atque ad alia festinans, intra terminos ei ab initio destinatos, illud continere statuissem: attamen præclaram istam Musci Walpoliani suppellectilem, ab interprete aliquo peritiorē propediem explicandam, edendamque esse confido.

Germana quædam ANTIQUITATIS eruditæ
· M O N U M E N T A
Q U I B U S

Romanorum veterum Ritus varii

Tam Sacri quam Profani,

Tum Græcorum atque Ægyptiorum nonnulli

ILLUSTRANTUR,

Romæ olim maxima ex parte collecta,

AC DISSERTATIONIBUS jam singulis instructa,

A CONYERS MIDDLETON, S. T. P.

Academiæ Cantabrigiæ Protobibliothecario.

His Appendicis item Loco adjuncta est MUMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS Descriptio.

Quis autem est, quem non moveat clarissimis Monumentis testata, consignataque Antiquitas?
Cic. de Divin. l. I. 40.

P R Æ F A T I O.

Sed ut ad propositum revertar. Meæ isti, quam modo dixi, emendi cupiditati, facultatum mearum tenuitas modum imposuit, nec ultra hanc rerum congeriem, quam in his Tabellis expositam videmus, eam provehi passa est: quæ, cum multos jam annos in armariis meis custodita, otium sæpe meum oblectasset, sermonisque cum familiaribus meis haud injucundi argumentum præbisset, in lucem demum idcirco emissæ est, ut quos mihi unquam vel delectationis, vel utilitatis fructus attulisset, eosdem item ceteris, qui hæc studia persequuntur, impertire posset. In ea enim nonnulla reperiemus, quæ ob raritatem atque operis etiam excellentiam, vel inter præstantissima ex hoc genere Antiquitatis monumenta numerari queant: de reliquis autem, si quæpiam contra, vulgaria nimis, atque hac tanta differendi pompa vix digna videantur, at ritum ea tamen, ut dixi, moremve aliquem, non ab aliis fortasse memoratum, aut clare satis explicatum, plerumque illustrant. Atque illud etiam animadvertendum est, hujusmodi videlicet opera, non peritis modo et intelligentibus, sed studiosis communiter omnibus et discendi cupidis proponi; atque ad omnium ideo ingenium accommodari solere; ita ut quæ peritioribus fortasse tædium fastidiumque creent, eadem tamen aliis, in hoc genere minus exercitatis, eruditionis ac scientiæ accessionem aliquam afferant. Istud vero utcunque fuerit, hoc saltem dicere licet, hunc omnem, qualiscunque est, rerum antiquarum apparatus, non quo scribendi occasionem arriperem, aut cruditionem meam ostentarem, ex aliorum Muscis desumptum, sed meo opere ac sumptu conquisitum esse; neque usum ejus meliorem me quidem excogitare potuisse, quam ut accu-

accurate descriptum, ac dissertationibus hisce instructum, in publicum proponerem.

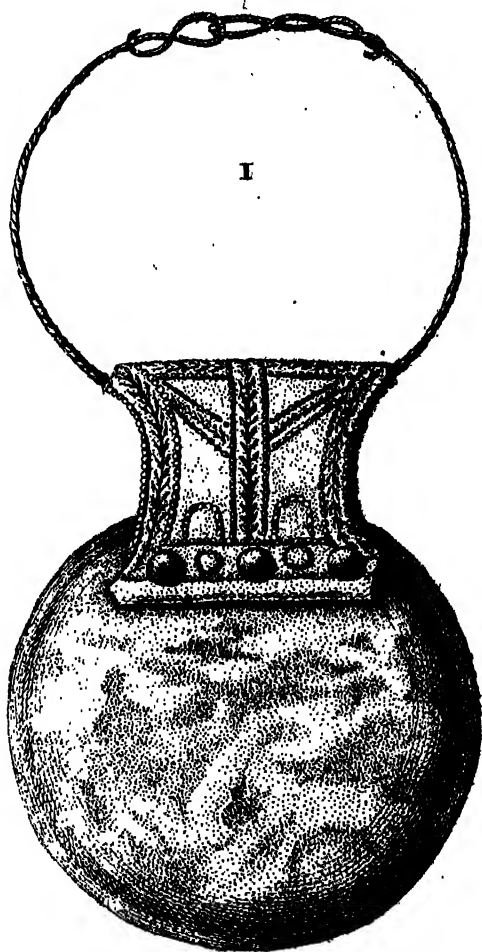
Ad hanc vero rerum mearum editionem, Mumiam item Cantabrigiensem, appendicis loco adungere libuit, quoniam et mihi ea præcipue in custodiam tradita est, et nihil Academiæ ipsi me gratius facere posse cognovi, quam ut, quodcunque in thesauris suis lateat, quod litterarum studia accendere, litteratosve erudire aut delectare possit, illud pariter in commune omnium beneficium pervulgarem.

Sin autem reperti aliqui erunt, qui hoc omne litterarum genus, tanquam leve prorsus, atque homine gravi ac sene præsertim indignum aspernentur; ego tamen multorum et gravissimorum virorum exemplis memet defendere potero, qui vitam fere in his ipsis studiis consumpserunt. At istiusmodi reprehensores meminerint, velim, quantum in juventute nostra instituenda, litterisque humanioribus imbuenda, hæc una rerum antiquarum cognitio locum obtineat, quantamque vim habeat: hoc enim si secum reputare volent, tum profecto, quicquid ad cognitionem eam illustrandam auxilii aliquid afferat, illud fructus non contemnendos editurum esse, intelligent. Neque provectioris ætatis hominibus aut injucundum, opinor, aut inutile foret, fontes eos antiquos interdum repetere, unde primos doctrinæ liberalioris haustus duxerint, quibusque omnem eam, quamcunque teneant, cogitandi, dicendi, scribendive elegantiam, acceptam plerumque referre oportet.

P R Æ F A T I O.

Sed ut dicam plane quod sentio: juniores certe, ad hujusmodi studia persequenda, aptiores esse fatendum est: eoque memet libentius ad hoc opus absolvendum accinxi, ut eo demum absoluto, his aliquando litteris valedicerem, atque hæc earum fomenta, ex animo pariter ac manibus emitterem. Etenim ætas mea jam ingravescens ad graviora quædam et personæ accommodatiora me progredi monet; et quanto minus vitæ mihi reliquum sit, tanto magis ea meditari, atque ea scribere, quæ vitæ futuræ spem confirmare, possessionemque nobis præstare queant. Ea nimirum, quæ moribus publicis emendandis, et virtuti pietatique propagandæ conducant; quæque religionem potissimum Christianam, benevolentiam, pacis, ac gaudii conciliatricem, ab omni prava mixtura, papistica fraude, anili superstitione, fanatico furore, qualis olim e cœlis descenderit, puram sinceramque conservent.

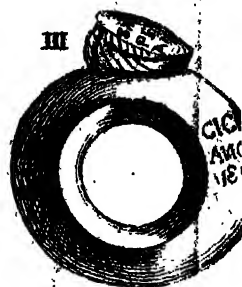
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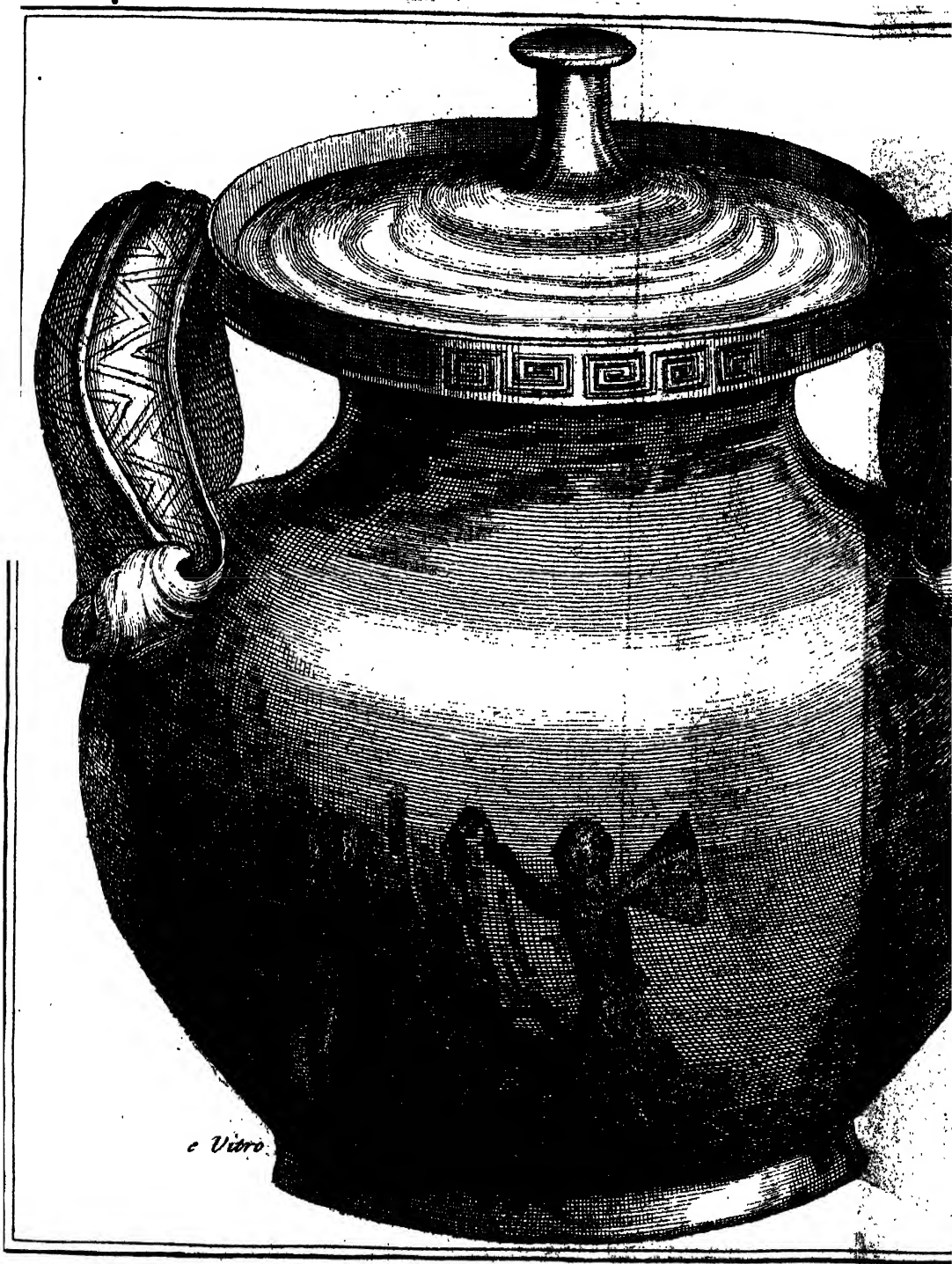
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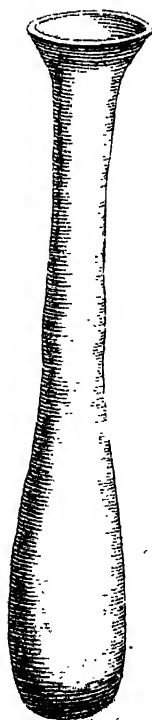


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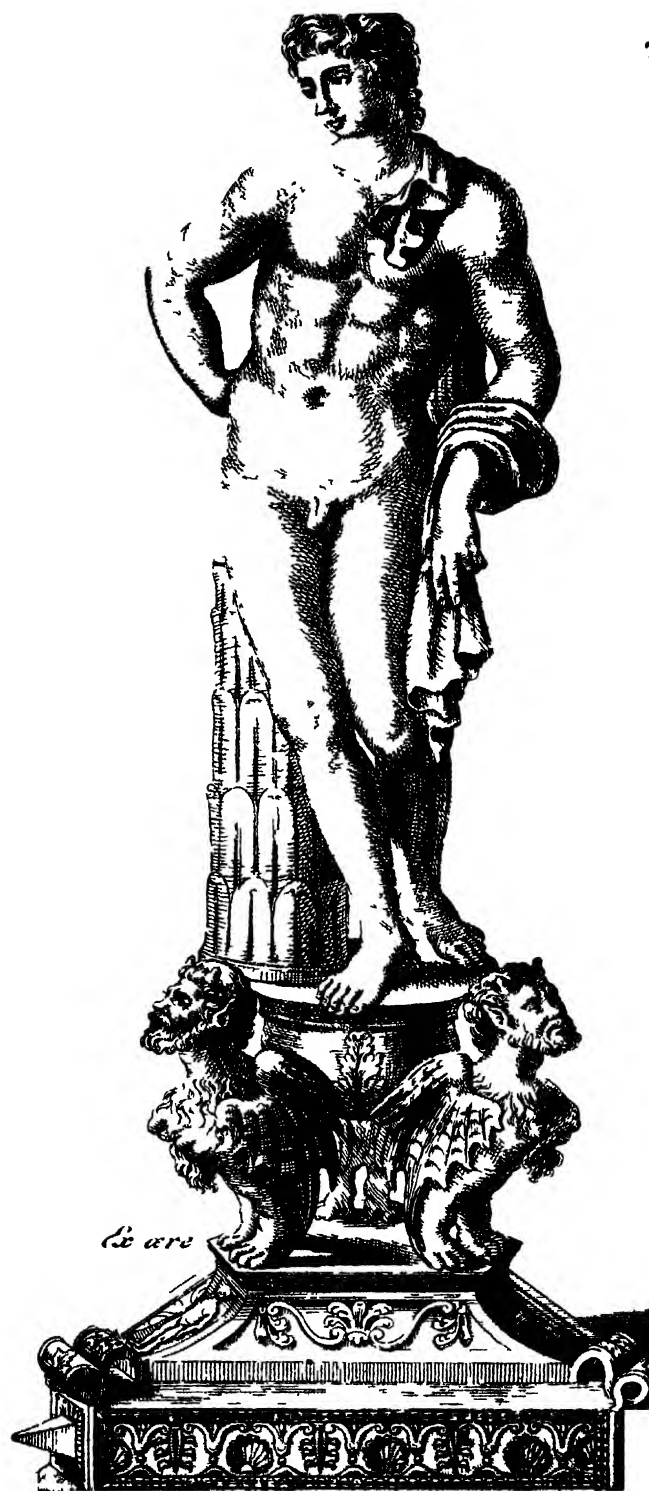


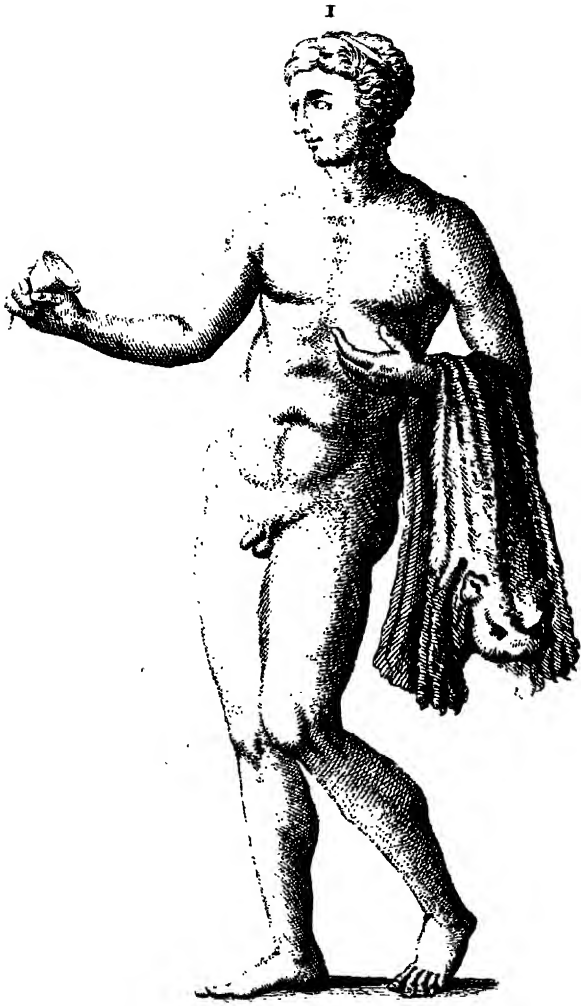
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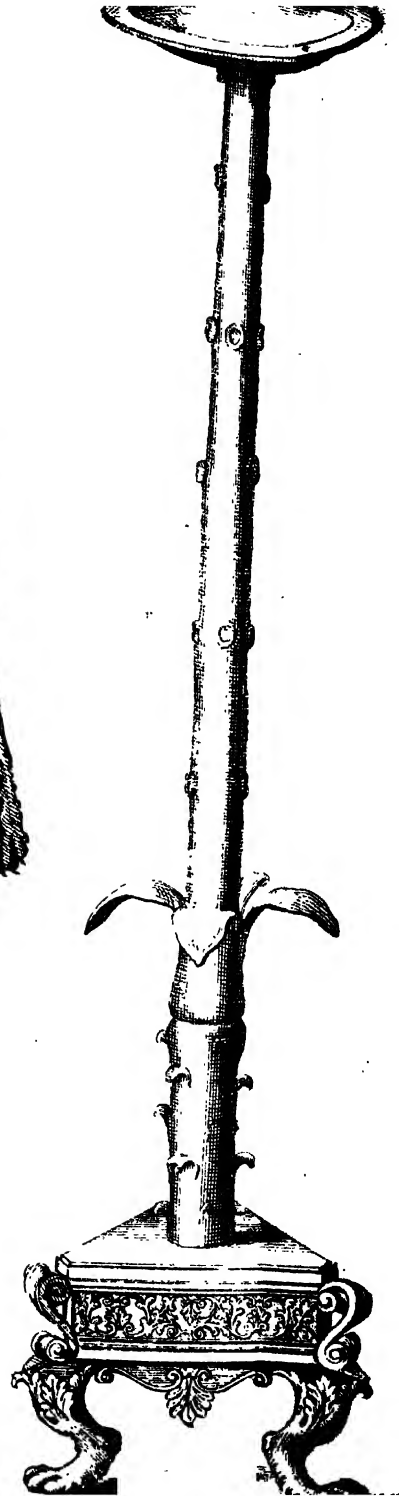


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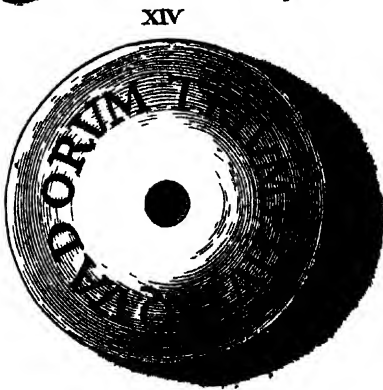


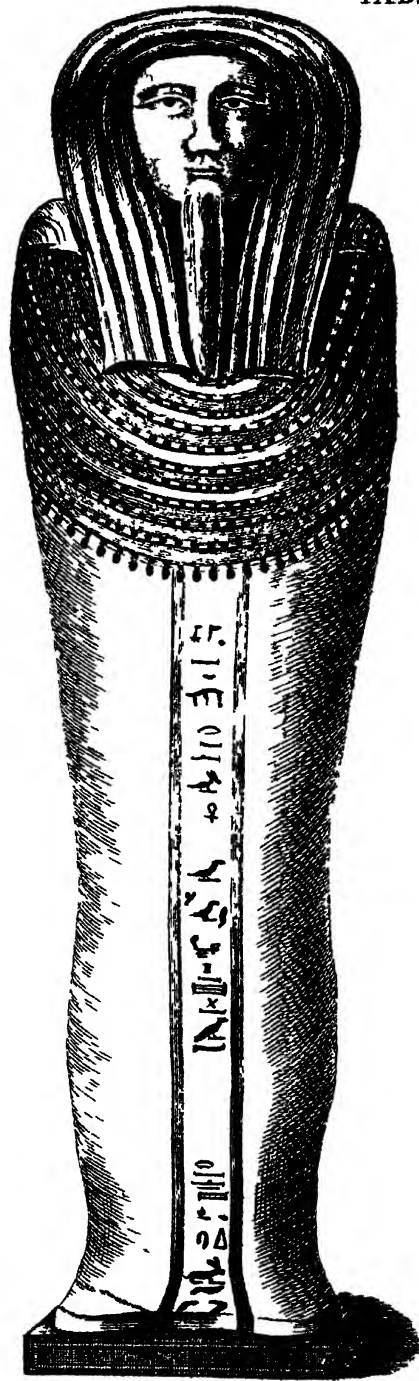


Exare









I N D E X



RERUM quæ in his TABULIS descriptæ atque in DISSERTATIONIBUS deinde explicatæ sunt.

In Tabula I.

Pictura antiqua, ex sepulchri veteris pariete, Romæ excisa. Ubi de historiola in ea expressa, et de figurarum vestitu ac descriptione, conjecturæ quædam proferuntur. Tum de picturis istiusmodi, in parietum tectorio repertis, earumque origine ac præstantia, nonnulla generatim differuntur.

Tab. II.

Figura muliebris, porcellum dextra, atque infantulum sinistra gestans. Ubi infantulos ad Deorum altaria initiandi, ac nominandi ritus omnes, cum apud Græcos tum Romanos, fuscè fatis explicantur.

Tab. III.

1. Bulla aurea. Ubi de Bullæ usu atque origine apud veteres Romanos disquiritur: eamque neque cordiformem, neque, ut doctorum plerique existimant, a triumphantibus omnino gestatam, neque nobilibus propriam, sed ingenuis promiscue omnibus pro arbitrio permissam esse, ostenditur. II. Mulieris atque Infantuli, cui Bulla ex collo dependet, Imagin-

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culæ duæ antiquæ, in vitro pictæ. Ubi de vitri origine ac conditura, ejusque pingendi artificio; tum de picturæ nostræ explicatione, et de Trabea præcipue veterum, quam puerulus, et de monili, quod mulier gestat, disputatur. III. Anulus Amuleticus, ex lapide Chalcedonio confectus, cui litteræ quædam barbaræ inscriptæ sunt. Ubi de Amuletis, Gemmisque potissimum Basilidianis; ac de anulis veterum phycis et medicatis, quibus noxia quælibet, et Dæmones præsertim malos, se propulsare posse credebant, differitur. IV. Rei turpiculæ, figuræ duæ æneæ, non quidem in hanc Tabulam, sed in dissertationis marginem conjectæ. Ubi istiusmodi figuras, contra fascinationes, oculique maligni ictus, infantulorum olim collis suspendi solere, demonstratur.

Tab. IV.

Olla ossuaria, e vitro confecta, et picturis ornata. Ubi de Ollis istiusmodi vitreis, ad mortuorum ossa excipienda paratis, ac de nostra præsertim, quæ ossium combustorum frustulis referta erat, agitur.

Tab. V.

Figuræ in fundo, lateribusque Ollæ depictæ; quæ ritus funebres præcipue indicare videntur. Ubi de mortuis comburendis, ossibusque eorum legendis, et condendis, ceterisque ad sepulchra pertinentibus, disputatur.

Tab. VI.

Quatuor vasa, lacrymatoria, ut vulgo vocantur. Ubi vasa ejusdemmodi omnia, non quidem ad lacrymas, ut plerique existimant, excipiendas, sed ad unguenta solummodo in tumulos inferenda, a veteribus adhibita fuisse, contenditur.

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Tab. VII.

Quatuor item vascula vitrea, in eundem usum parata ; quibus unguenta scilicet, ad mortuorum cineres inspergendos, in sepulchris asservari solerent.

Tab. VIII.

Lucernæ quatuor sepulchrales. Item, anuli duo aurei ; atque inauris etiam muliebris. Ubi lucernarum sepulchralium usus, et figurarum in his nostris expressarum significatio investigantur. Deinde de anulis aureis, atque inauribus, ceterisque defunctorum ornamentis, una cum eorum ossibus in sepulchro a propinquis condi solitis, quædam dicuntur.

Tab. IX.

I. Libelli veteris five Pugillaris, Operculum Eburneum, in sepulchro antiquo repertum. Ubi pugillarium forma usufque, ad notas scilicet breves excipiendas, demonstrantur. II. Tibicinis Utricularii Imaguncula ænea. Ubi de Tibiæ istius apud veteres usu, ac de Ludionum, Morionum, ac Mimorum genere omni, ad convivia ludosque adhiberi solito, disputatur. III. Pocillatoris, seu servi ad mensam ministrantis Imaguncula. Ubi Romanorum luxus, in servorum grege comparando illustratur, et Pocillatorum præfertim, seu servorum Tricliniariorum vestitus nitidus et delicatulus ex imagine nostra indicatus est. Tum de antiqua e cornibus potandi consuetudine nonnulla memorantur.

Tab. X.

Ibis Ægyptia. Ubi Avis istius natura, cultus, divinique, apud Ægyptios veteres, honores explicantur. Atque hanc
nostram

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nostram Ibidis effigiem, basi olim deauratæ impositam, ac numinis loco consecratam, cultamque fuisse, ostenditur.

Tab. XI.

Æsculapii Imago, una cum Telesphoro adjuncto. Ubi de Dei hujus religione, et quemadmodum Romam primum advecta fuit; item de Ægris in templo ejus cubantibus, et morborum suorum remedia, somniorum monitu ediscantibus, dissertitur. Tum Telesphori etiam nomen, et qualis ille Deus fuerit, explicatur.

Tab. XII.

Antinoi Imago ænea, basi perpulchræ insistent. Ubi de Antinoo in Deorum numerum relato, honoribusque ei ab Hadriano Imperatore constitutis; item de basi Imaginis hujus singulari, figurisque ibi expressis, pauca quædam observantur.

Tab. XIII.

I. Bacchi Imaguncula ænea. II. Serapidis, Dei Ægyptii. Ubi de cultu ejus, nonnisi fero Romam traducto, dissertitur. Deinde, de minutis hisce Deorum veterum Icunculis, atque infinito fere carum numero hodie extante, quæstio instituitur et explicatur. III. Arula Larum seu Deorum Cubicularium perpulchra ex ære. Ubi ejusmodi Arulas, in privatarum ædium Sacellis seu Larariis, ad thuris aut vini paululum excipiendum paratas, atque ante Deorum imagines poni solitas, declaratur.

Tab. XIV.

I. Imago Bacchæ, seu fœminæ in Bacchi sacris initiatæ. Ubi sacra ista nocturna, a mulieribus celebrata, describuntur:

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tur : et cur Bacchantium coronæ ex hedera potissimum confectæ essent, declaratur. Item de oculis Imagunculæ hujus argenteis mentio facta est ; atque oculos istos conficiendi atque inferendi artem, ad Opifices quosdam proprios, a sculptoribus diversos pertinuisse, declaratur. II. Gladiatoris Imaguncula ænea. Ubi de Gladiatorio pugnandi more pauca quædam dicuntur : atque hanc Imagunculam, a Gladiatore aliquo celebri, ob victoriam partam vel libertatem acceptam, ex voto Deo alicui dicatam fuisse, conjectatur. III. Duæ aliæ hominum Imagunculæ incognitæ. Quarum una tamen Germanici fortasse ; altera Etrusci Herois aut Dei effigies esse videtur.

Tab. XV.

Patera ænæa, uti vulgo vocatur. Ubi vascula hujusmodi, haud recte Pateras dici ; neque ad vinum omnino fundendum, ut ex eorum forma apparet, accommodata esse, sed ad aridum potius quiddam vel Diis Laribus in sacrificio, vel cœnantibus fortasse in convivio, offerendum, adhibita fuisse, conjectatur, tum figuras in hoc vasculo insculptas, ad Ledæ fabelam referendas esse.

Tab. XVI.

Aliud vasculum ejusdem formæ ac generis. Ubi de figuris etiam in eo, perinde ac in ceteris plerumque insculptis, conjecturæ quædam proponuntur.

Tab. XVII.

Haustæ antiquæ spiculum, atque instrumenta duo fabrilia, ex ære confecta. Ubi de Hastis et Gladiis veterum, post ferrum etiam inventum, ex ære factis, differitur ; atque in instru-

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instrumentis istiusmodi fabricandis, æs, promiscuum diu cum ferro ipso usum obtinuisse, antiquorum testimoniis confirmatur.

XVIII.

As Romanorum libralis, ejusque partes. Ubi de æris signandi auctore; atque unde mos deductus; quibusque notis æs primum Romæ signatum esset, quæritur. Deinde, hujusmodi nummos, omnium, qui Romæ unquam signati fuissent, antiquissimos esse, atque ante bellum Punicum, non feriendo percussos, aut typo aliquo impressos, sed ex ære fuso conflatos, ostenditur. Tum singulorum momenta seu pondera notantur; ac signa in eis expressa illustrantur.

Tab. XIX.

As ad sextam ejus partem; deinde ad duodecimam, auctoritate publica imminutus; partesque utriusque ita imminuti. Ubi imminutiones istæ, ex nummorum nostrorum serie hic exposita, illustrantur. Atque alias quoque æris imminutiones, a nemine licet antiquorum memoratas, factas tamen esse, arguitur. Tum notæ et signa in his nummis impressa explicantur. Ac singulorum momenta propria indicantur.

Tab. XX.

Pondus antiquum librale, ex ære factum. Item quatuor Unciæ æneæ, earumque partes nonnullæ. Ubi de Romanorum veterum ponderibus, auctoritate publica constitutis, ac de signis in eis insculptis, pauca quædam dicuntur: ac singulorum momenta demonstrantur. II. Aquilæ Imaguncula ænea, basi imposita. Ubi de Aquilis legionum et cohortium, quæ magna religione coli solebant, differitur; atque Aquilam item nostram ad cultum quendam divinum, vel domi vel

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vel militiæ, consecratam olim esse, declaratur. III. Guttus antiquus ex ære. Ubi vasculi istius usus, ad olea scilicet atque unguenta pretiosa, cum in balneis, tum in sacris, guttatim fundenda, demonstratur. IV. Pes æneus votivus. Ubi de pedum imaginibus, ex voto Deorum alicui in templo ejus dicatis, a navigantibus præsertim, seu pedibus etiam ex morbo aliquo laborantibus, differitur. Quam quidem superstitionem, ~~hodie~~ etiam Romæ, perinde ac in urbe antiqua, vigere, confirmatur. V. Tigridis Imago ænea, de cujus tamen usu nihil certi statui potest.

Tab. XXI.

Gemmarum series; in quibus imagines variæ, antiquo opere cælatae aut exsculptæ sunt. I. Imago Byzantis Herois, urbis Byzantii conditoris. II. Hermaphroditi ad arborem alligati; cujus ad caput Faunus, ad pedes Satyrus affidet. III. Regis cujusdam Parthorum. IV. Prusiæ, Regis Bithyniæ. V. Sexti Chæronensis, Plutarchi nepotis. VI. Omphales, Herculis insignibus instructæ. VII. Matidiæ Augustæ. VIII. Faustinae senioris. IX. Mercurii, symbolis suis omnibus instructi. X. Imagines variæ, symbolico quodam significato, inter sese commixtæ: videlicet, Socratis, Pavonis, Elephantis et Sceptri. XI. Galli Gallinacci; et Cornu-copiæ, quod e globulo quasi exsurgere videtur. XII. Mulieris, five Deæ cujusdam Ægyptiæ. XIII. Avis Ægyptiæ five Ibidis. XIV. Lapis denique Chalcedonius, rotundus et globi dimidiati instar, ex altera parte planus, ex altera convexus; cui literis quadratis inscribitur. TRIUMPHUS QUADORUM — Quæ quidem omnia, quatenus explicatione aliqua egere videantur, ordine illustrata sunt.

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Tab. XXII.

Mumia Ægyptia, a viro nobili Georgio Townshend, Aca-
demiæ Cantabrigienfi donata. Ubi de loculis præsertim, the-
cisve ligneis, in quibus cadavera Ægyptiorum more condita,
reposita erant, differitur: atque ex eorum forma et pingendi
modo, et sculpturæ et picturæ primordia ad Græcos traducta
esse, conjicitur. Deinde ex putrido Mumia nostræ statu, Æ-
gyptiorum veterum vanitas arguitur, qui hoc condiendi ritu,
se corporibus etiam suis immortalitatem quasi daturos esse cre-
debant. Tum hanc cadaverum condituram, non tanto aroma-
tum apparatu, tantoque sumptu, quanto fieri solere traditur,
revera effectam fuisse, ex Mumia nostræ reliquiis, ceterarum-
que omnium, quæ a peregrinantibus descriptæ sunt, demon-
stratur.

Tab. XXIII.

Integumenti Mumia exterioris particula, pictis Deorum
imaginibus ornata. Ubi picturarum earum descriptio quæ-
dam datur: quarum quidem nonnullæ, hanc cadavera con-
diendi artem, Ægyptiis olim divinitus datam esse, significant;
item lapidis ejus Æthiopici, quem cultelli loco, in cadavere
fecando, adhibebant, formam exhibent; atque Deorum eti-
am eorum effigies, qui Avernici præcipue, seu malorum pro-
pulsatores habebantur; quibusque cadaveris potissimum tute-
lam commendare solerent.

DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ

QUIBUS

MONUMENTA

In Tabulas Superiores distributa Ordine singula explicantur.

TABULA I.

PICTURAM hanc antiquam, ex Sepulchri cujusdam parietibus, una cum ipso parietum tectorio, excisam, Roma mecum in Angliam advexi. Picturæ enim veteris reliquias, et majores eas quidem quam expectâram, cum in Principum palatiis, tum in privatorum ædibus, ibi adhuc extantes vidi: quæ in Sepulchrorum scilicet Balneorumve cameris subterraneis olim depictæ, atque ædificiorum deinde superiorum ruinis oppressæ, et ab omni adco humore, aerisque accessu conservatæ, usque ad hanc ætatem illæsæ, atque integræ sæpe reperiuntur: neque citius tamen reperiri, quam ab hominibus curiosis abripi, et quantum tectorii natura patitur, ad ædes proprias ornandas deportari solent.

Etenim tectoria ista antiqua, picturæ præsertim excipiendæ destinata, summa semper diligentia, atque artificio elaborata esse, constat; et tempore ipso ac senectâ usque eo induruisse,

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ut vel marmoris firmitatem acquirerent. ^a Horum igitur particulas, imaginibus pictis ornatas, homines in his rebus intelligentes, e parietibus facile excindere, atque, ipsorum quidem veterum exemplo, in alia loca amovere didicerunt. Quippe Græciam olim a Romanis, perinde ac Romam hodie ab exteris, spoliari solere, *opusque hoc tectorium lateritiis parietibus excisum, et ligneis formis inclusum, propter excellentiam picturæ, a Varrone et Muræna, ad Comitium in Ædilitate sua exornandum, Lacedæmque Romam deportatum esse*, legimus. ^b At vero picturam nostram, ex eo genere primam atque unicam sane esse arbitror, quæ in Angliam unquam advecta esset; donec MEADIUS noster, Artis Medicæ decus, qui vitæ revera nobilis, vel principibus in publica viris, exemplum præbet, pro eo, quo omnibus fere præstat, artium veterum amore, alias postea quasdam, et splendidiore, opinor, Roma quoque deportandas curavit.

Picturæ hujus figuras quod attinet; ex altera ejus parte, Deum quendam fluviatilem, eo plane habitu jacentem cernimus, quo fluviorum Deos, vel in marmoribus fictos, vel ab auctoribus antiquis descriptos accepimus; *comatum nempe barbatumque; crines arundine, seu herba aliqua fluvio propria redimitum; humi recumbentem; atque in urnam, unde amnis largiter profluit, cubito innixum* ^c.

^a Totum in eo est, quod mihi erit curæ, tectorium ut concinnum sit. Cic. Epist. ad Frat. l. 3. 1. § 1. vid. Plin. Hist. N. l. 36. c. 23.

^b Plin. ib. l. 35. 14.

^c Fluvios omnes navigabiles, qui in mare decurrunt, senili plerumque forma fingi solitos docet Vir clariss. J. Vaillant

in Græcis Imperator. Numismat.—Philostratus fluvios nunquam erigi solere scribit. (Icon. l. 2. c. 14.) Et de Phasidis fluvii imagine loquens, *vides, inquit, fluvium ipsum arundine in alta, tetrico vultu jacentem, coma densa, et erecta, barba subhorrida, oculis cæcis*. Philostr. Jun. Icon. 8.

*Lævus arundineæ recubansque sub aggere ripæ
Cernitur, emissæque indulgens Inachus urnæ^d.*

Ex altera parte, viri duo discincti, sub arbore in eadem sella sibi invicem assident; juxta quos mulier astat, et gestu, vultuque hilari, coronam quandam floream capiti suo imponit. Hujus ad sinistram puer tunicatus, et ad genua succinctus, e poculo bibere, et virorum alteri propinare videtur; qui poculum item manu tenet, quasi mox bibiturus. Hæ quatuor figuræ seorsim paullulum a ceteris positæ, inter sese colloquentes et compotantes describuntur; quas versus, alia quoque mulier accedit, floribus coronata, et canistrum simul floribus plenum in capite gestans, gressusque baculo quodam agresti quasi sub onere firmans^e. Summa denique tabellæ pars fruticis cujusdam floriferi ramulis decoratur, quorum e medio caput juvenile, ex opere ipso tectorio effictum, atque alarum specie quadam instructum, extra reliquam picturæ superficiem prominet.

Quinetiam figurarum harum vestitus quiddam notatu dignum præbere videtur, ejusque omnino generis esse, quo Matronasolim Romanas ornatas legimus, quibus

Ad talos stola demissa, ac circumdata Palla^f.

quippe stola nihil aliud erat, ac tunica clausa et talaris, zona plerumque cincta, et manicis instructa, quæ vel ad cubitum,

^d Stat. Thebaid. 6. 274. ib. 2. 218.

^e Hanc eandem baculi formam in aliis antiquorum picturis, et mulieris pariter in manu canistrum florum gestantis, animad

verti. vid. *Pieces of Antient Painting*, by G. Turnbull, N^o 36.

^f Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 2. 99.

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vel, quod in hac pictura videmus, ad manus usque pertingebant. Palla quoque nihil aliud erat ac Pallium, quod tunicae superinducere, et vel apertum gestare, vel in sinus varios colligere ac complicare solebant, quodque et Pallæ et Pallii nomine promiscue appellabant^g.

Mulierum altera, Pallio viridi seu oleagino, altera violaceo, utraque vero tunica rubra induta est: Quippe ad vestium muliebrium ornatum, omnigenos colores pro libitu adhiberi solitos constat; de quibus Ovidius;

*Hic undas imitatus, habet quoque nomen ab undis :
Crediderim Nymphas hac ego veste tegi.
Ille crocum simulat, croceo velatur amictu,
Rosida luciferos cum Dea jungit equos.
Hic Paphias myrtos, hic purpureas Amethyestes
Albentesque rosas, Threiciamve gruem, &c.*^h

Virorum figuræ, partim seminudæ, partim tunicatæ apparent: Eo nimirum habitu, quo extra urbem in villis suis otari consueverunt. Horum alteri Toga sive Lacerna cærulea, alteri rubra, tunicae vero utrisque croceæ dantur. Etenim ruri semper fere lacernam induebant; vestem scilicet apertam, atque humero tantum aut pectore fibula nexam: quæ cum Toga contractior, leviorque, et cucullo plerumque contra plu-

^g Palla, honestæ mulieris vestimentum, et tunica Pallium. Non. de Sermon. propriet.

c. 14.

Palla, si terræ nimium demissa jacebunt,

Collige et immunda sedulus effer humo.

Ov. Art. am. 1. 153.

Et tegit auratos Palla superba pedes.

Id. Amor. 3. 13.

^h Ovid. de art. Amand. 1. 3. 177.

Quot nova terra parit flores, cum vere tepenti

Vitis agit gemmas, pigraque cedit hyem;

Lana tot aut plures succos bibit—Ibid.

viam munita esset, ⁱ in Togæ penitus vicem, tam intra quam extra urbem, Cæsarum demum temporibus, cessisse traditur. Colores ei quidem varios, sed omnium maxime rubrum, a Scriptoribus tributum invenimus,

Phasis purpureis ruber lacernis. ^k

Crispinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas. ^l

— Sed de Figurarum descriptione hæcenus; ad earum jam interpretationem progrediamur: in qua quidem me plane hære-
re, neque certi aliquid aut explicati habere, fateor. Quum picturarum tamen harum interpretibus, item ac pictoribus ip-
sis, quidlibet audendi licentiam dari animadverterim, mihi quoque cæterorum exemplo, conandum esse statui, an e re dubia atque obscura, verisimile demum aliquid conjectura eli-
cere queam. *

Quamobrem Dei fluviatilis imagine, Tyberim, sive Deum Tyberinum denotari conjicio ^m; quem eodem fere modo in marmoribus, ac numismatibus antiquis per sæpe exsculptum cernimus, ut historiam videlicet, actionemve a sculptore ex-

ⁱ — Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna. *Ilv. S. 2. 7. 55.*

Si possem totas cuperem misisse lacernas,
Nunc tantum capiti munera mitto
tuo. *Mart. Ep. 14. 132.*

Ex quo Martialis loco lacernarum cucul-
los a lacernis ipsis separari interdum so-
re. Octavius Ferrarius ostendit. De re
Vestiar. Par. 2. l. 1. c. 20.

^k *Mart. Epig. 5. 8.*

^l *Juv. Sat. 1. 27.* Hinc posterioribus
seculis Lacerna, a rubro colore, Byrrhus
appellari coepit. *Byrrhus*, inquit *Isidorus*,

a Græco vocabulum trahit. Illi enim eum
Burrum, id est, *πυρρὸν* vocant, l. 19. c.
24. Vid. Octav. Ferr. ib. c. 26.

^m Hunc in sacris Tyberinum, in com-
muni sermone Tyberim, in poemate Ty-
brim vocari Servius declarat, quem Vir-
gilius ita describit.

*Hic Deus ipse loci fluvio Tyberinus amæno
Populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
Vixit: Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
Cæsar, et circum umbrosa tangebant aru-
do.* *Æn. 8. 31.*

pressam, prope fluvium istum accidisse significaretur.^a Atque hinc intelligere licet, picturæ nostræ scenam ad Tyberis ripas positam esse; hominesque istos, qui coronati ac potantes pinguntur, diem aliquem festum celebrare; quem Romani olim juxta Tyberim, cum conjugibus et liberis hilariter agere sole-
rent. Hujusmodi vero festum, Annæ Perennæ. idibus Martiis dicatum reperio: In quo populum ad Tyberis ripas, genio indulgisse, ac potu præsertim largiori, vitam sibi perennem aspiciatum esse, memoriæ proditum est. *Mense Martio*, inquit Macrobius, et publice et privatim ad *Annam Perennam sacrificatum itur, ut annare et perennare commode liceat*:^o hoc est, ut et annum præsentem et venturos omnes perenni ac perpetua felicitate transigerent. De hoc etiam Festo Ovidius,

*Idibus est Annæ festum geniale Perennæ
Haud procul a ripis, advena Tybri, tuis.
Plebs venit, ac virides passim disjecta per herbas
Potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.*

*Sole tamen vinoque calent, annosque precantur,
Quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt. &c.*^p

Jam vero Festi hujus celebratio, cum figurarum nostrarum descriptione satis apte congruit; in qua senes, mulieres, puerosque ad Tyberis ripas, floribus coronatos, potantes, diemque genialiter sumentes cernimus^q. Ubi arbores item rem extra urbem,

^a Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. par. 1. l. 5. c. 7. Tab. 35. it. Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 5. c. 2. Tab. 26.

^o Saturn 1. c. 12.

^p Fastor. 3. 523.

^q Omnes, qui dies festos agunt, poculisque operam dant, eodem fere habitu a

Poetis describuntur—

potare et spargere flores

Incipiam — — Hor. Ep. l. 1. 5.

Sed varii flores, et frons redimita corymbis,

Fusa sed ad teneros, lutca palla pedes.

Tibul. l. 7.

Bacchus

urbem, ac verno potissimum tempore agi, declarant. Caputque istud juvenile, quod e superna picturæ parte eminet, Genium fortasse loci indicat, hilaritatis hujus fautorem, ejusque quasi conspectu sese oblectantem. Sed nodus adhuc quidam restat; quippe virorum alteri tempora, vitta seu diademate cincta apparent, quod quidem Deorum solummodo, Imperatorum, Regumve olim insigne fuisse cognovimus. At vero in festis hujusmodi genialibus, quæ potu præsertim atque omni hilaritatis genere sumebantur, quidni cum fertis florumque coronis, fascias etiam hæc aut diademata pro libitu, ac per ludum jocumque sumi solere credamus? Istud vero utcunque fuerit, hoc saltem certissimum est, in picturis hujusmodi, sculpturisque sepulchralibus, Festos Deorum dies, Bacchantium ritus, ludosque eos describi solitos, quibus defuncti, cum viverent, delectati potissimum fuissent.

Hæc autem rei explicandæ ratio, quia nonnullis fortasse minus satisfactura sit, aliam quoque ei adjungere libuit, ut lectori demum optionem aliquam judiciumque relinquam.

Quum picturas igitur hæc sepulchrales, præter argumenta ista modo memorata, Sepulchrorum etiam ritus, mortuorumque apud inferos statum, ac vitæ degendæ conditionem sæpissime exhibere vidissem, subiit statim dubitatio, annon pictura nostra defunctorum potius in campis Elysiis vitam beatam atque hilarem, hac figurarum descriptione, adumbrare posset.

Bacchus amat flores; Baccho placuisse coronam,

Ex Ariadnæo fidere nosse potes.

Ov. Fast. 5. 339.

Neque coronas istas domi tantum atque inter potandum gestari solitas, sed corona-

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tos etiam ebrios prodiisse atque in plateis versatos esse legimus.

Quid, tu, ego video?

PS. *Cum corona ebrium Pseudolum tuum.*

Plaut. Pseud. Ac. 5. 2.

D

Nam

Nam in beatorum istorum deliciis, enumerantur præcipue a Veteribus, *fontes aquis limpidis scatentes; prata floribus nitentia; Philosophorum Scholæ; Poetarum chori; Musicorum cantus; computationis denique, dapesque sese ultro offerentes*¹. Musæus autem, ac si ebrietatem optimum virtutis præmium existimasset, *beatos illos ad mensam accumbentes, et coronatos convivia celebrantes assiduisque computationibus sese oblectantes* facere solitus dicitur². Neque aliter fere Virgilius locos istos lætos, et amœna vireta, ~~beato-~~rumque ibi studia depingit.

*Conspicit ecce alios dextra lævaque per herbam
Vescentes, lætumque choro pæana canentes,
Inter odoratum lauri nemus; unde superne
Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.*

.
*Nulli certa domus, lucis habitamus opacis,
Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis
Incolimus*³ ———

qui vitæ vero castitate, armis, artibus, beneficiisve patriam auxissent, his omnibus vittæ seu diadematis honorem tributum dicit,

*Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta*⁴.

Atque hic pariter omnia cum picturæ nostræ interpretatione convenire, eandemque fere vitæ degendæ rationem, a Pictore atque a Poeta descriptam videmus; hominum scilicet floribus vittisque coronatorum, et computationibus sese colloquiisque

¹ Vid. Plato. in Axioch. Vol. 3. p. 371.

² Æneid. 6. 656. it. 673.

³ Ibid. de Rep. l. 2. p. 363.

⁴ Ibid. 665.

jucundis ad fluviorum ripas oblectantium. De duabus autem hisce conjecturis utra tandem verisimilior fuerit, non meum est dijudicare: Hoc tantum polliceri licet, si quis rectius aliquid invenerit, me illud, quicquid erit, libenter amplexurum.

Sed antequam hanc nostram dissertatiunculam concludamus, non nihil etiam de picturæ ipsius pulchritudine, ac pingendi artificio dicendum restat: In quo quidem genere hoc universe statuendum arbitror; picturas nimirum, in parietum tectoriis repertas, a præclaris licet artificibus confectas, non ea tamen diligentia, aut arte elaboratas fuisse, ac reliqua eorundem opera in tabulis singulis depicta. Etenim tectorii natura, tantis cum ruinarum tum incendiorum casibus obnoxia, haud ullam famæ diuturnitatem, qua artes omnes maxime aluntur, pictori præstare poterat: *Nulla igitur, ut Plinius ait, in tectoriis, Apellis pictura erat; nec parietes iis temporibus pingere libebat; nec ulla artificum gloria, nisi eorum, qui tabulas pinxere*^{*}. Quum vero tabulæ contra ex incendiis rapi, de loco in locum deportari, artificumque adeo famam per urbes gentesque propagare possent, in his omnem artis suæ vim atque industriam ponendam esse censuerunt; neque aliud fere in parietibus pingendis curasse videntur, quam ut pictura coloribus satis pulchre nitesceret, utque figuræ primariæ ad naturæ similitudinem exprimerentur; atque eo gestu habituque, qui personæ et actioni, quam exprimendam sumpsisent, accommodatus esset; de singulis interea figurarum membris, partibusque picturæ obscurioribus parum solliciti, nonnisi veloci manu ac penicillo levi istiusmodi omnia absolvere solebant.

In hoc igitur genere, picturam nostram inter elegantiores

^{*} Hist. N. l. 35. c. 9.

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numerandam esse arbitror : in qua figuræ fatis apte dispositæ, pulchræ coloratæ, nec sine iusta partium proportionem delineatæ apparent. Haud ei tamen certam aliquam ætatem præfinire aſſim, ſed hoc tantum affirmare, eam ante Conſtantini ævum depictam eſſe : quo quidem regnante, artes omnes elegantiores jacuiſſe liquet : uti cum ex aliis eorum temporum monumentis, tum ex celebri præſertim Principis iſtius Arcu, perſpicuum eſt ; quem ob ſculptorum bonorum inopiam, ex Arcus Trajani ſpoliis fabricatum, figurisq; inde deſumptis ornatum eſſe cognovimus : quum figuræ contra iſtæ, quæ ad Conſtantini geſta illuſtranda, ea ætate ſculptæ, atque in eodem arcu poſitæ erant, ita inconcinne ac deformes ſint, ut omnem artis ejus gloriam tunc temporis periſſe oſtendant.

At vero longe ſecus, ac antiqui iſti Pictores cogitaverint, rem tandem eveniſſe videmus. Etenim quum præſtantiffima quæque eorum opera, in tabulis ſingulis depicta, vetuſtate jamdiu abſumpta, ac penitus deleta ſint, hæ tamen debiliores parietum picturæ, vel ipſis ædium ruinis munitæ, atque ab omni damno conſervatæ, uſque ad noſtra tempora permanſerunt.

Ex his autem picturæ veteris reliquiis, nonnulli de artis ipſius dignitate temere nimis judicantes, eam ad ſculpturæ antiquæ perfectionem nequaquam perveniſſe contendunt. Sed ex arctiſſima artium harum conjunctione, ambas paſſibus ſemper æquis ad perfectionem ſuam progreſſas eſſe conſtat ; hoc tantum discrimine, quod ex diverſa utriuſque natura ac materia accidere neceſſe erat, ut picturæ nimirum vel optima quæque exemplaria, propter rei ipſius fragilitatem cito peritura, Sculpturæ vero contra, propter materiæ duritiem, in omne fere ævum duratura eſſent.

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HÆC Imaguncula Muliebris, porcellum dextra, et infantulum sinistra gestans, sacrum aliquod solenne, ob liberos natos a veteribus fieri solitum, adumbrare videtur. Varios enim hujus generis ritus, a scriptoribus antiquis traditos accepimus, quos e Græcia fere omnes Romam manasse constat.

Infans simul ac natus, in terram, tanquam communem omnium parentem, ab obstetrice nudus abjiciebatur. Natura, inquit Plinius, *hominem nudum, in nuda humo, natali die abjicit, ad vagitus statim et ploratum*^y.

Tactaque nascenti corpus haberet humus^z.

Hoc terræ contactu, vox nascentibus dari credebatur; *Maiamque Mercurii matrem, eandem ac terram esse, Fatuamque a fando appellari* Macrobius scribit, *quod infantes partu editi non prius vocem edunt, quam attigerint terram*^a.

Puerum autem in terram abjectum, si parentes alere decrevissent, quod non sine consultatione quadam et deliberatione fecisse videntur, ab humo pater tollere solebat.

Quicquid peperissent, decreverunt tollere^b.

^y Hist. Nat. Præf. ad lib. 7. Atque solum istud, quod Augustus nascens primum attigisset, consecratum postea fuisse discimus. Sueton. in Aug. c. 5.

^z Ovid. Trist. l. 4. 3.

^a Saturn. 1. 12.

^b Ter. And. 1. 3. 14

Consulti sunt, inquit Seneca, de nobis parentes nostri, qui cum conditionem vitæ noscerent, in hanc nos sustulerunt ^c. Hinc deam quandam Levanam, liberos levandi auêtricem atque præsidem, Romæ olim extitisse legimus ^d.

Infantulum dein lustrandi, sacrisque initiandi solennitas, quinto post partum die, celebrata fuit.

*Quin Diis sacrificare hodie pro puero volo,
Quinto die quod facere oportet* ^e.

Hic ritus ἀμφιδρόμια a Græcis dicitur, quia puer scilicet circa focum, quem Deorum domesticorum sedem propriam esse putabant ^f, ab obstetrice, celeri cursu circumferebatur ^g. Ex qua pueri circumferendi consuetudine, verbum ipsum *circumferre*, eandem apud veteres significationem obtinuissè invenimus, ac purgare seu lustrare;

Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda ^h.
*Quæso quin tu istanc jubes
pro Cerrita circumferri*—ⁱ

Atque hinc quoque verbum, *lustrare*, in eodem plane sensu, ac circumire, usurpatum est.

^c De consolat. ad Marc. c. 18.

^d August. de Civ. D. iv. xi.

^e Plaut. Truc. 2. 4.

^f Vid. Platon. de legib. l. 12. Oper. T. 2. p. 955. Edit. Hen. Steph. Quem quidem locum Cicero iter interpretatur; *Terra igitur, ut Focus, domicilium sacrum omnium Deorum est*. De Legib. l. 2. 18.

^g Ritus hujus ratio a Socrate apud Platonem indicatur: ut Parentes scilicet, quinto post partum die periculum facerent, con-

siliuinque de novo caperent, an puer corpore satis valido sanoque esset; dignusque omnino qui tolleretur. in Theat. Oper. T. 1. p. 160. De hoc etiam ritu Suidas, in voce ἀμφιδρόμια, quintum, inquit, ab infantibus natis diem celebrant; quo die manus purgant obstetrices, et propinqui dona mittunt, polypedas plerumque et sapias; deinde decimo die Infanti nomen imponunt.

^h Virg. Æn. 6. 229.

ⁱ Plaut. Amphit. 2. 2. 144.

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———*Ter totum fervidus ira*
Lustrat Aventini montem^k.

Lufrandi ritu confecto, nomina deinde infantibus, solenni modo cum sacrificiis epulisque, apud Græcos, die decimo imponebantur.

Εἰς δεκάτην γὰρ ποτε παιδαρίῳ κληθεὶς ὑπέπινον ἐν ἄστει^l.

Nam ad decimum pueri diem olim vocatus cenavi in urbe ubi Scholiastes decimum diem ob liberos natos conviviiis fumi solitum dicit, atque eodem die nomina eis imponi. Quod ab Euripide etiam confirmatur.

—— τίς σε, μάτερ, ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκου
ὠνόμασε——^m

Quis tibi, mater, decimo post partum die,
nomen imposuit———

Hæc autem sacra per obstetricem plerumque facta esse videntur; quippe Electræ matrem Clytemnestram roganti, ut pro filio sibi nato, suo nomine die decimo sacrificaret, mater respondit

Ἄλλης τοδ' ἔργον ἢ σ' ἔλυσεν ἐκ τόκωνⁿ.——

Alterius hoc munus est, quæ te partu levavit.

At vero Romæ rem paullo aliter transactam esse, infantium-

^k Virg. *Æn.* 8. 230. vid. item Non. Marcell. c. 4. in lustrare.

^l Aristoph. *Avib.* 494.

^m Eurip. *Fragm.* in *Ægeus*.

ⁿ Id. *Electr.* 1128.

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que lustrationem et nominum impositionem eodem die celebratas invenimus. *Nundina*, inquit Macrobius, *Romanorum Dea, a nono nascentium die nuncupatur, qui Lustricus dicitur, est autem dies lustricus, quo infantes lustrantur et nomen accipiunt: is maribus nonus est, octavus feminis* °. Atque hinc Caligula, ut Suetonius ait, Neroni infantulo, nomen Claudii patruī sui, die lustrico per jocum imposuit °. Hoc lustrandi ritu ad Deorum altaria peracto, amicisq̃ue et cognatis ad convivium adhibitis, nomina deinde domi imposita esse videntur; in quibus numerus vocalium, par aut impar, ad morbos quosdam pellendos valuisse credebatur ¶.

Ex hac vero nominalium, uti vocabatur, solennitate †, Sanctus Chrysostomus ridiculas quasdam caeremonias in Ecclesiam Christi traductas esse queritur. “Cum puerum, inquit, nominandi dies advenerit, a sanctorum aliquo nomen mutuari, quod a veteribus fieri solebat, haud dignantes, lumina accendunt, singulisque nomina imponunt, ejusque, quod caeteris diutius perduraverit, nomen puero imponendum arripiunt, tanquam vitæ longævæ augurium †.”

Romani denique liberorum suorum nomina ad Præfectos ærarii deferabant, publicis actis inferenda, addito die et Consule, quo ætas eorum postea, ingenuitasque dignosci poterant.

° Saturn. 1. 16. it. Pomp. Fest. in Lustricus.

¶ In Neron. c. 5. De hac Diei lustrici pueris puellisq̃ue assignati differentia, quæstionem instituit Plutarchus, causamque reddere conatur. Quæst. Rom. 99.

¶ Plin. Hist. N. l. 28. c. 4.

† Tertull. de Idol. c. 16.

† Hom. 12. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. Oper. T. x. p. 107. Edit. Benedict. — alios

item ritus quosdam, ad infantium curam spectantes, atque a gentilibus deductos, Chrysostomus commemorat; de quibus ita demum cum Christianis suis expostulat: *Quod apud Græcos quidem talia fiant, nihil sane mirum est; quod autem apud eos, qui crucem adorant, ac mysteriorum ineffabilem participes sunt, et tam sublimem philosophiam persequuntur, tantum dedecus imvaluerit, multis certe lacrymis deflendum est.* Ibid.

T A B U L A II.

*Tollis enim, et libris aëtorum spargere gaudes
Argumenta viri* ^t. —

Sed ad Icunculam nostram redeamus ; quam Perſius quodammodo describere videtur, dum in ſuperſtitioſos hoſce luſtrandi ritus, atque inepta mulierum vota, pro liberis die luſtrico ſuſcepta, invehitur.

*Ecce Avia aut metuens Divūm Matertera cunis
Exemit pucrum, frontemque atque uda labella
Infami digito, et luſtralibus ante ſalivis
Expiat, urentes oculos inbibere perita.
Tunc manibus quatit ; &c.* ^u.

Pucruli huius figura, caputque a capillis nudum, ac corpus ligamento quodam, tanquam vinculo, conſtrictum^x, uti paucorum admodum dierum ætatem denotant, ita hunc luſtrandi ritum prorsus indicare videntur. Quippe porcum in luſtrationibus fere omnibus, atque in Cereris præſertim ſacris, adhibitum eſſe liquet^y.

^t — Juv. Sat. 9. 84.

^u Sat. 2. 31. Saliva olim, ad fascinationes, contagia, morboſque pellendos, miſtificam quandam vim habuiſſe putabatur. [Vid. Plin. l. 28. 1.] Sed in his infantium luſtrationibus, non meram eam quidam habuiſſe videntur, ſed luto ſeu pulvere commixtam. *Lutum*, inquit Chryſoſtomus, *in balneo accipientes nutrices et ancillæ, digito tingentes, in pueri fronte*

imprimunt. Quid ſibi vult lutum ; quid canum ? Malum avertit oculum, inquit, livorem, et iridiam. Vid. Ibid.

^x Ab hoc lucis rudimento hominem vincula excipiunt, et omnium membrorum nexus, &c. *Plin. Præm. in lib. 7.*

^y Ab ſuillo genere pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum videtur : cujus veſtigia, quod initiis Cereris porci immolantur. *Varr. de re ruſt. l. 2. . . 4.*

T A B U L A I I .

Ἐς χοιρίδιόν μοι νῦν δάνεισον τρεῖς δραχμας,
 Δεῖ γὰρ μνηθῆναί με, πρὶν τεθνηκέναι ².
Da mihi mutuo tres drachmas, ut porcellum emam,
Nam initiari me oportet, antequam mori.

Ex quo conjicere licet, ad quem potissimum Deorum hic infantulus a muliere initiandus defertur : quippe ex omni cœlestium classe, Parentes Deum sibi aliquem pro arbitrio feli- gere confueverunt, cui sese liberosque suos præcipue commen- dare, atque in tutelam quasi tradere possent. Hinc Caligula infantem sibi natam, *Liviam Drusillam, per omnium Dea- rum templa circumtulisse, et Minervæ gremio imposuisse, eique alen- dam et instituendam commendasse*, traditur ¹. At vero porcus quem mulier dextra tenet, infantulum nostrum Cereri sane dicatum esse ostendit : porcum enim Cereri tanquam proprium, a veteribus tributum cognovimus.

Prima Ceres avidæ gavisa est sanguine porcæ,
Ultæ suas merita cæde nocentis opes ^b.
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant ^c.

In numismatibus idcirco antiquis, suem interdum vel porcum ad Cereris imaginem, tanquam symbolum, adjunctum vide- mus ^d : et in vase quodam apud Montfauconium. Cereris effigies exsculpta apparet, atque ex adverso mulieris, dextra porcum ferentis, quasi Cereri immolandum ^e.

¹ Aristoph. in Pace. v. 373.

² Sueton. in C. Cal. c. 25.

^b Ov. Fast. 1. 143.

^c Hor. Epod. 2. 1.

^d Vid. Fulv. Ursin. in Famil. Vibia.

^e Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 1. p. 113. fig.

1. In veteri quadam Inscriptione, T. Basilii *Porcam Deæ Cereri quotannis mac- tandam*, epulumque dandum ex testamento legasse dicitur. Vid. Bonfac. de Epitaph. compend. p. 95.

Neque illud item prætermittendum, quod hæc Imaguncula in agro Neapolitano reperta fuerit; ea nimirum Italiae parte, — quæ a Græcis olim possessa, et magna Græcia vocata est; atque unde hæc ipsa Cereris religio Romam traducta esse dicitur: in qua quidem urbe simulachrum ejus, omnium primum ex ære factum, ac summa deinceps veneratione cultum accepimus^f. Hinc in marmoribus antiquis Cererem Orcilianam, ac Organianam, memoratam legimus; a familiis quibusdam Romanis, cultui ejus addictis, ita nominatam^g. Quinetiam inter Sculpturæ veteris reliquias, effigiem quandam Cereris animadverti, cujus in sinu infantuli duo recumbentes finguntur; ad singularem istam infantium curam denotandam, propter quam *κηροτρόφος* et *παιδοτρόφος*, hoc est, puerorum alitrix, ab antiquis appellatur^h.

Quod interpretationem autem nostram maxime confirmat. hæc Cereris sacra per mulieres semper curata erant.

Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matresⁱ.

Aditus in id Sacrarium, inquit Cicero, non est viris, sacra per mulieres et virgines confici^k. Et ne vetusti ritus perita deesset Antistes, Græcam Sacerdotem, quæ sacrum illud monstraret et faceret, e Græciæ magnæ urbibus, Neapoli aut Velia, Romanos plerumque

^f Plin. Hist. N. l. 34. 4. Vid. it. Thefaur. Brandeb. V. 1. p. 6. Vid. it. Cic. Orat. pro Corn. Balbo. 24. Herodot. in Vit. Homer. p. 569. Edit.

^g Spon. Miscell. Erudit. Antiqu. p. Lond.

90.

ⁱ Ov. Metam. l. x. 431.

^h Montfauc. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. x. Beger.

^k In Verr. 4. 45.

T A B U L A II.

accipere solitos declarat¹. De quibus Deæ hujus sacerdotibus Græcis, nonnulla adhuc monumenta extant.

C A S P O N I A . P . F .
M A X I M A
S A C E R D O S C E R E R I S
P O P U L I R O M A N I
S I C V L A ^m.

Incunculæ nostræ materiem quod attinet; ex ære folido conflata est; at pigmento quodam albescente ab initio, ut videtur, delibuta; quo albam illam puramve, cum sacrificantium omnium, tum Cereris præsertim sacra curantium, vestem indicaret.

*Alba decent Cererem, vestes Cerealibus albas
Sumiteⁿ.*

Quod vero nutrices potissimum, hoc pueros lustrandi munus obeuntes, albatæ fuerint, ex Persii loco discimus.

*At ego nutrici non mando vota : negato
Jupiter hoc illi, quamvis te albata rogaritⁿ.*

Atque hoc adeo simulachrum, mulierum ad Deorum altaria accedentium imaginem istam revera exhibet, quam verbis describit Plautus.

¹ Sacra Cereris summa majores nostri religione confici, caeremoniaque voluerunt : quæ cum essent assumpta de Græcia, et per Græcas semper curata sunt Sacerdotes—Has sacerdotes video fere aut Ne-

apolitanas, aut Velienfes fuisse.—

Cic. pr. Corn. Balb. 24.

^m Gruter. V. 2. p. 308. 4.

ⁿ Ovid. Fast. 4. 619.

^o Sat. 2. 38.

*Æquis vos erat
Candidatas venire, hostiataſque ad hoc
Fanum* ^p.

Brachium præterea dextrum, pedesque mulieris nudi, peculiarem quendam sacrificandi ritum indicant; quo quidem habitu in sculpturis sæpe antiquis sacrificantium figuræ cernuntur. Nudis pedibus sacrificare, apud veteres fere omnes usurpatum, atque a Judæis sane acceptum esse putatur. Quippe Dæmones, ut Justinus Martyr ait, *propter imitationem ejus quod Moſi accidisset, cultores suos, loca ſacra ingredientes, calceos deponere docuerunt* ^q. Hinc apud Romanos Veſtæ, quæ eadem ac Terra habitata est ^t, non niſi nudo pede ſacra facere licebat.

Huc pede matronam vidi deſcendere nudo ^t.

Jam vero ſi quærat tandem aliquis, ob quam cauſam, hanc Icunculam olim fictam eſſe putem; dicerem ſane, ex voto pro Infantulo nato Cereri ſuſcepto, eam conſecratam eſſe, atque in Templo deinde Deæ pro more ſuſpenſam. Etenim Tempſa fere omnia, cum apud Græcos tum Romanos, iſtiusmodi donis reſerta fuiſſe, perſpicuum eſt: quæ maxima ex parte niſi aliud erant, ac figilla, ſeu minutæ quædam Deorum, hominumve figuræ, e marmore plerumque aut metallo conflatæ;

^p Rud. 1. 5.

^q Apol. 1. p. 91. Edit. Thirib.

^t Rotundam ædem Veſtæ Numa——
conſecraſſe videtur; quod eandem eſſe
Terram crediderit, eamque pilæ forma

eſſe: ut ſui ſimili templo Dea coleretur.—
Festus in Rotunda.

^t Ovid. Faſt. 6. 297. Virgines ex Sacerdotio Veſtæ nudo pede fugientia ſacra committantur. Flor. 1. 1. c. 13. § 12.

quibus

T A B U L A II.

quibus tabella etiam basisve adjuncta erat, quæ et Deæ et votivæ nomen indicare, causamque voti exponere solebat; quam quidem basim, in tanta temporis longinquitate, ab imagine nostra sejunctam, et deperditam esse, haud mirandum est.

I. O. M. ———
 ——— TERENTIA. NICE.
 ——— CVM. TERENTIO. DAMARI
 ——— ONE. FILIO ———
 ——— SIGNVM. ET. BASIM.
 VOTO. SVSCEPTO. DE. SVO. POSVIT.
 LVSTRO. EIVSDEM. DAMARIO
 NIS.

In tabella quadam figulina, antiqui operis, a viro doctissimo, Bonannio, in lucem edita, imaginem cernimus obstetricis, infantulum gremio fovæntis, matremque dextra sustinentis; quæ Puerperæ cujusdam votum esse putatur, Junoni Lucinæ susceptum¹. Quinetiam gemma antiqua a celeberrimo Montfauconio exhibetur, in qua Apollinis effigies insculpta est, una cum muliebri figura, quæ puerulum nudum, in patina quadam, Deo quasi in manus tradere videtur: quam quidem gemmam votum item fuisse, pro puero nato suscep-

¹ Gruter. Vol. 1. 9. 5.

GENIO. DOMNOR. CERERI.
 T. PUBLICIVS. CRESCENS. LARIBVS.
 PVBLCIS. DEDIT. IMAGINES. ARGENT. DVAS.

Marmi D'Orfat. Lett. 1. p. 4.

² Vid. Musæum Kircher. Class. 2. p. 67. Tab. 23. 1. — It. Thomasin. de Donariis. c. 14.

tum, harum rerum periti omnes declarant *. Ex his igitur veterum monumentis, aliisque permultis, quæ in eandem sententiam adduci possent, illud fane, quod modo dixi, verisimile admodum esse videtur; hanc scilicet imagunculam, infantis lustrandi ritum adumbrantem, Cereri olim ex voto donatam fuisse.

* Antiq. Vol. 2. par. 1. l. 3. c. 14. Tab. 27. 4.

T A B U L A III.

BULLA hæc aurea, cujus formam et magnitudinem accurate fatis descriptas damus, quum urbis antiquæ ruinis usque ad hanc ætatem sepulta jacuisset, integra tamen post tot seculorum decursum reperta, atque in lucem revocata est. Etenim Fossiores quidam, in monumentis veteribus explorandis, marmoribusque eruendis occupati, dum Mausolei cujusdam rudera, juxta viam Prænestinam, ad quartum ab urbe lapidem, perscrutantur, in conclave subterraneum, picturis ornatum, et pulchre pavimentatum irruperunt³. In hoc urnam e marmore nobilem conspicientes, ejusque operculum plumbo defixum, nimisque ponderosum, quam ut amoveri facile posset, confringentes, vasculum intus ex alabastro orientali invenerunt, in quo ossium combustorum reliquiæ, una cum hac Bulla, conditæ erant: sed vasculum item ipsum, præ nimia auri reperiendi cupiditate, confregerunt. Atqui hæc statim omnia, Franciscus Ficcoronius, sollertissimus ille quidem harum rerum investigator, marmoris, vasculi, et picturarum fragmenta, itemque Bullam ipsam, ab operariis istis coemit⁴; quam ex ejus deinde manibus, at pretio tamen haud parum amplificato, redemi, atque in Angliam mecum advexi.

Hanc eandem Bullam, ut Roma rediens Parisios veneram, celeberrimo, Montfauconio ostendi: qui me ante euntem

³ Monumenta illiusmodi Sepulchralia, duarum videlicet contiguationum, quæ duas camera, alteram alteri impositam, habebant, græco nomine, Diltega appellabantur: de quibus in antiquis Inscriptionibus mentionem factam observavi.

Gruter. p. 827. 6. it. Spon. Miscell. p. 291, 292.

⁴ Vid. Libellum de hac ipsa Bulla aurea, a Franc. Ficcoronio Italice conscriptum. p. 6. 4to in Roma. 1732.

benigne admodum exceperat, et quicquid Cœnobii istius Bibliotheca instructissima, vel rerum vel codicum antiquorum, singulare eximiumque habuit, id summa mihi comitate monstraverat. Vir autem ille eruditus, Bullæ licet hujus figuram ectypam, a Ficcoronio Roma missam viderat, at Bullam tamen ejusmodi germanam, se nunquam antea vidisse declaravit.

Hoc nobile pectoris aurum, ut a Statio vocatur^a, puero-
rum ingenuorum gestamen fuisse, collo suspensum, atque in
pectus demissum, notissimum est; *ornamentum pueritiæ, indi-
cium atque insigne fortunæ*^b. Sed de ejus origine nihil fere
certi memoriæ proditum est. Plutarchus eam Romulo attri-
buit; qui ut Sabinas a suis raptas consolaretur, *Bullam et
Prætextam earum liberis concessisse dicitur*^c. Plinius autem, “ a
“ Tarquinio Prisco, omnium primo, filium, cum in præ-
“ textæ annis occidisset hostem, Bulla aurea donatum, scri-
“ bit, moremque inde deductum, ut eorum qui equo meru-
“ issent filii, insigne id haberent^d.” Macrobius dein, utraque
has sententias, item ac alias quasdam recenset, sed vetus-
tatis peritissimos ad Romulum rem referre declarat^e. Mihi
vero haudquaquam credibile videtur, ornamenta tam pretiosa,
quæ luxus divitiarumque speciem præ se ferunt, in ista Ro-
muli fæce, urbisque paupertate, excogitata primum fuisse.
At quæcunque rei ipsius origo fuerit, tamen usum ejus anti-
quissimum, atque ab Etruria deductum esse liquet.

^a Silvar. l. 5. 3. v. 120.

^b Cic. in Verr. 1. 58.

^c In Romul. p. 30. B.

^d Hist. N. l. 33. 1.

^e Saturn 1. 6.

Etruscum puero si contigit aurum^f.

Pueri autem Romani, cum virilem jam togam sumptuari-
essent, Bullam una cum prætexta deponere, Laribusque sus-
pendere solebant.

*Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pendit^g.*

Atque hinc Lares Bullati a Petronio memorantur^h. Sed et
aliis eam quoque Diis interdum donatam fuisse, ex Inscrip-
tione antiqua apparet.

I V N O N I P L A C I D A E .

C L A U D I A S A B B A T S
B V L L A M D. D.ⁱ

De tempore Bullam deponendi, togamque sumendi, diver-
sas sane atque inter se discrepantes eruditorum sententias re-

^f Juv. Sat. 5. 165. At non pueris
modo Bullam auream concessam esse, sed
puellis etiam, et die ipso natali, dari soli-
tam, ex Plauti loco quodam significari
videtur.

*Et Bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit
mibi natali die.*

Rud. 4. 4. 127.

^g Perf. Sat. 5. 30.

*Mox ubi Bulla rudi dimissa est aurea collo,
Matris et ante Deos libera sumpta toga.*

Propert. 4. 1. 131.

Quippe in omni vitæ mutatione, veteribus
solenne erat, ætatis anteaetæ insignia, seu
artis quam exercuerant instrumenta, Deo-
rum alicui consecrare; Ephebis Bullam;
Virginibus nupturis, zonam; militibus et
gladiatoribus, arma; Servis, catenas;
pastoribus, fistulam. Vid. Hor. Ep. 1. 1.
11. Sat. 1. 5. Virg. Ecl. 7. Anthol. Græc.
1. xi.

^h c. 38.

ⁱ Grut. p. 25. 2.

perio. Nonnulli anno decimo quarto id fieri solitum declarant; quod ex Suctonii potissimum testimonio, exemplisque ex Cæsarum temporibus petitis, confirmant. At vero Imperatores eos cunctas fere veterum consuetudines immutasse, togamque pro arbitrio atque honoris causa, filiis et propinquis ante legitimum tempus dedisse cognovimus. Neroni togam anno decimo quarto donatam legimus: at *maturatam* eam dicit Tacitus, *quo Reipublicæ capeffendæ habilis videretur*^k. Priscis Reipublicæ temporibus, togam haud ante annum decimum septimum pueris concessam existimo; at labante paullatim priscorum disciplina, parentes, quo liberis gratificarentur, gaudium istud libertatisque initium maturasse, togamque anno decimo sexto eis indulgisse, constat: quippe eo ætatis suæ anno Ciceronem, et ipsum togam virilem sumpsisse, et filio postea eundem annum agenti eam donasse, a Cardinali Norisio demonstratur^l.

Bullam vero, ut Laribus dicari, si ad pubertatis annos puer pervenisset, ita in sepulchro condi soleri, si prætextatus mortem obiisset, ex Bullæ nostræ historiola colligi posse videtur. Sponius etiam marmor quoddam sepulchrale exhibet, in quo pueri bullati imago insculpta cernitur, cum hac inscriptione^m.

D. M.
Q. ATERIVS. AD
IVTOR. FECIT
Q. ATERIO. AGE
THEMERO. FILIO
SVO. VIXIT. AN.
III. M. II.

^k Ann. 12. 41.

^m Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299.

^l Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. 2. c. 4.

Ubi Quadrimuli hujus Bulla, cujus figura in pueruli pectore extrinsecus expressa est, intra Ollam etiam, ut conjicere licet, una cum ossibus ejus recondita fuit.

De nominis autem perinde ac rei origine, auctores veteres haudquaquam inter se convenire video. Festus illud a græca voce, βελλῆ, derivatum dicit, ut eam ætatem aliorum consilio regendam, significaretur^a. Alii ab aquæ bullis, aere inflatis et nomen et formam deducunt; ad levitatem scilicet humanam, imbecillitatemque indicandam^o; secundum vetus illud proverbium, *Homo Bulla*^p. At vero Macrobius, *ingenuis pueris attributum esse scribit, ut cordis figuram in Bulla ante pectus annecterent, quam inspicientes, ita demum se homines cogitarent, si corde præstarent*^q. Ex quo quidem Macrobi locō, eruditorum plerique, quoties in scriptis veterum explicandis in Bullæ mentionem inciderint, cordiformem eam esse declarant^r. Sponius autem, Causæusque, qui veram Bullæ aureæ formam ex monumentis statuîsque antiquis accuratius investigarant. Macrobi errorē coarguunt, Bullamque auream, neque cordiformem neque ulla cordis figura insculptam, sed rotundam plane, atque huic nostræ simillimam paremque omnino fuisse ostendunt^s.

Macrobius igitur, qui Honorii temporibus floruit, in quibus Bullæ aureæ mos in defuetudinem forsitan abiisset, hanc Bullarum Cordiformium notionem ex Christianorum usu ar-

^a In voce Bu la.

^o Plutarchi in Romul. 30.

^p Varr. de Re Rust. l. 1. 1.

^q Saturn. l. 1. c. 6.

^r Thom. Dempster. Etrur. Regl p.

303. Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 2. l. 6.

690. it. Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. p.

242.

^s Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299.

Causeus. Mus. Rom. p. 103.

ripuisse videtur; quibus cordis figura, ut Aringhus docet, tanquam amoris innocentiae atque integritatis symbolum, magno in honore fuit, eorumque sepulchris saepissime insculpta, atque in Bullae etiam ipsius locum substituta¹. At vero Casalius marmoream pueri imaginem e Museo suo edidit, Bulla ornatam, in qua cordis figura insculpta apparet: quod tamen ad Christianorum praeceptorum consuetudinem istam omnino referendum esse, Ficcoronius ostendit².

Quinetiam omnes fere, qui de Bulla aurea scripserunt, eam nobilium solummodo liberis, tanquam propriam attribuerunt; attamen Equestri loco natis, usque ab initio concessam, liquet³: et postremis deinceps Reipublicae temporibus, ab ingenuis sane quibuscumque, seu omnium ordinum civibus, quorum facultates ad istiusmodi sumptum pertingerent, pro libitu usurpatam esse, ex Ciceronis loco quodam perspicuum est.

Etenim Cicero, Verrem accusans, puerum quendam praetextatum, P. Junium, quem patrimonio Verres spoliarat, in conspectu Judicum sed sine Bulla produxit; quod cum Hortensius, qui Verrem defendebat, eum populariter, atque invidiae commovendae causa fecisse questus esset, Cicero ita respondet; " Quid erat, Hortensi, tandem in illo puero populare? quid invidiosum? Gracchi credo, aut Saturnini, aut alicujus hominis ejusmodi produxeram filium, ut nomine ipso et memoria patris animos imperitae multitudinis concitarem.

¹ Aringh. ibid. 694.

² Unde mos deductus, ut eorum, qui

³ De Veter. Christianor. ritib. p. 265. equo meruissent, filii insigne id haberent.
Edit. Rom. 1644. it. Ficcoron. Della Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 33. i.
Bolla d'oro. p. 14.

“ tarem. P. Junii erat, hominis de plebe Romana, filius—
 “ Hic istius nefario latrocinio bonis patriis fortunisque omni-
 “ bus spoliatus venit in judicium——Itaque tibi, Hortensi,
 “ non illius ætas sed causa ; non vestitus sed fortuna popu-
 “ laris videbatur : neque te tam commovebat, quod ille cum
 “ toga prætexta, quam quod sine Bulla venerat. Vestitus
 “ enim neminem commovebat is, quem illi mos et jus inge-
 “ nuitatis dabat. Quod ornamentum pater dederat, indicium
 “ atque insigne fortunæ ; hoc a prædone isto ereptum esse,
 “ graviter et acerbe homines ferebant^y.” Ex quo loco patet,
 Bullam non nobilitatis, sed ingenuitatis tantum, divitiarumve
 potius insigne fuisse : quam quidem Cicero, a filio hominis
 de plebe gestatam, et fortunis deinde imminutis, ab eodem
 depositam esse, declarat. Atque hoc idem ex Inscriptione ista
 sepulchrali supra allata, de puerulo quadrimo Bulla ornato,
 confirmari videtur : puerum nempe cum non nisi libertino
 genere natum esse, ex Græco Agathemeris cognomine, adju-
 torisque titulo, quo pater insignitur, colligere licet : adjutores
 enim illi Cæsarum fere liberti erant, qui inter Domus Augustæ
 officia, vicariam aliquam operam præstabant^z.

Hæ Bullæ aureæ, ex omnibus, quæ jam restant, ger-
 manæ antiquitatis monumentis, rarissimæ sunt. Quippe quæ
 a fossoribus egenis atque esurientibus haud citius reperiri, quam

^y In Verr. l. 1. 58.

^z D. M.

D. M.

D. M.

P. AEL. AVG.

FASTVS. AVG. LIB.

T. AELIVS. CRISPINVS.

LIB. AGATHE.

ADIVTOR. AB. EPIS

AVG. LIB. ADIVTOR

MERI. ADIVT.

TVLIS. &c.

A. RATIONIBVS. &c.

AB. EPIST. LAT.

Has inscriptiones una cum multis aliis *Inscript. Antiqu.* p. 345.
 ejusdem generis videre licet apud Fabret.

in usus proprios converti, atque aurifici statim pro auri tantilli pondere, vendi solent. Etenim præter hanc unam, alteramque, quæ Romæ adhuc asservari dicitur, haud aliam uspiam extare credo. Alterius vero illius effigiem in lucem edidit Caufæus^a; huic nostræ simillimam, sive eandem potius, nisi quod illa CATULI nomen inscriptum præferat, nostra nullo nomine litterisve signata sit. Ex hac autem rerum inter se alias simillarum differentia, conjectare possumus, istam nominis inscriptionem, de qua nullam prorsus apud veteres mentionem animadverti, non antea fieri solitam, quam puer toga jam virili sumpta Bullam deposuisset, Laribusque dicasset; nostramque propterea nomine carere, quod puer, qui eam gestasset, antequam eam ætatem attigisset, morte præreptus esset.

Bulla nostrâ ex duabus auri purissimi laminis rotundis confecta est, quæ a tertia item lamina sublonga, at in sese reflexa seu duplicata, et sculptili opere ornata, claviculorum trium aureorum ope, superne connectuntur. Hæ vero laminæ rotundæ ex omni alia parte a se invicem jam divisæ sunt, quas tamen margine quodam conjunctas olim fuisse constat, ut remedia, opinor, aliqua intus caperent, quæ ad valetudinem pueri tuendam valuisse credebantur; quibusque inclusis, lamina superior, globuli ad instar, convexa apparuit, qualem illam videlicet in statuis antiquorum Bullatis, Romæ adhuc extantibus, videmus^b.

Bullæ nostræ, ut primum reperta fuit, historiolum, italica lingua conscriptum, ad eruditum Baudelotium, Academiæ

^a Vid. Mus. Roman. Mich. Caufæi. p. 103. Fig. 6. *ato orbe fulgenti similem dicit. Quest. Rem. p. 388. B. Edit. Par.*

^b Plutarchus item Bullam, *lunæ dividi-*

T A B U L A III.

Parisiensis socium, miserat Ficcoronius; cuius quidem epistolam, una cum Dissertatiuncula quadam de Bullæ aureæ usu atque origine in lucem postea edidit Baudelotius; in qua Bullam ipsam non a *puero*, sed *Imperatore aliquo in triumpho* gestatam esse declarat, propterea quod et magnitudine et pondere, ut ei videtur, majore esset, quam ut a puero commode gestari posset^c. Hanc autem opinionem vir iste doctus a Causæo sumpsisse videtur; qui Bullam eam alteram, Catuli nomine inscriptam, in lucem antea emiserat, atque a Q. Lutatio Catulo, C. Marii in triumpho Cimbrico Collega, usurpatam esse censuerat^d. Montfauconius item, eundem Causæum secutus, et Bullæ ejusdem figuram in Thesaurum suum transferens, de Bullis eam *triumphalibus* fuisse existimat, ob causam scilicet istam, a Baudelotio allatam, quod ponderosa nimis esset, quam quæ puerili ætati conveniret^e. At vero hanc hominum, doctissimorum licet, opinionem, mihi nullo modo probari fateor: primum, quod Bullas ejusmodi puerili ætati parum congruas esse; deinde, quod a *Triumphantibus* omnino gestari solitas, affirmant: quorum neutrum quidem, quantum ipse investigare potuerim, ulla omnino vel monumentorum vel scriptorum veterum fide niti reperio.

Primum quod attinet, bullam hanc nostram, perinde ac alteram istam a Causæo editam, cum germanis puerorum bullis et forma et magnitudine penitus congruere, perspicuum est; primum ex Statuis istis bullatis, quarum permultæ adhuc Romæ extant^f; deinde ex eis, quas Sponius, Begerus, allique

^c Vid. Hist. Acad. Parif. Inscript. Vol. 3. p. 230.

^d Mus. Roman. p. 103.

^e Antiq. Tom. 3. par. 1. l. 2. c. x.

^f Statuæ puerorum Bullatæ dicuntur, quibus Bulla marmorea de collo ita dependet, ut a pueris ipsis ex auro revera gestata esset. Istiusmodi statuam Æmilio Lepido

aliique in libris suis descriptas exhibuerunt⁵; tum ex pictura item vitrea, infra a me describenda; in qua bullam de pueruli colliculo eadem plane magnitudinis proportionem ac nostram, dependentem videmus. Neque ullo modo incommodum, aut a puerili ætate alienum censeretur potest, ejusmodi ornamentum haud unciae pondus exsuperans, a pueris usque ad annum ætatis decimum sextum gestari solere.

Præterea, quod viri isti docti affirmant, bullam videlicet auream a Triumphantibus gestari solitam; etsi ab omnibus profecto, qui de ea scripserunt, idem quoque declarari video, mihi tamen in hanc rem quam diligentissime inquirenti, non modo dubium, sed falsum plane esse apparet; documentumque sane insigne præbet, quam facile monumentorum horum interpretes, in rebus præsertim obscurioribus, opinionem ab auctore aliquo probato susceptam amplecti, atque alius alium absque hæsitacione ulla sequi solent. Etenim omnes, hanc suam de bullis triumphalibus notionem, ex unico tantum atque incerto illo quidem Macrobiani testimonio confirmant, quod his verbis traditur; “ Tarquinius Priscus Rex tertius ab Hostilio, quintus a Romulo, de Sabinis egit triumphum, quo bello filium suum annos quatuordecim natum, quod hostem manu percussisset, et pro concione laudavit, et bulla aurea prætextaque donavit; insigniens puerum ultra annos fortem præmiis virilitatis et honoris. Nam sicut prætexta magistratuum, ita bulla gestamen erat Triumphantium, quam in

Lepido puero, in Capitolio S. C. positam legimus; quod in prætextæ annis in aciem progressus, hostem interemit, civemque servavit. [Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.] Cujus quidem generis statuas sane multas, in

Nobilium palatiis, Villisque Romæ adhuc extantes vidi.

⁵ Vid. Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiqu. p. 299. it. Beger. Thesaur. Brand.

“ triumpho præ se gerebant, inclusis in eam remediis, quæ
 “ crederent adversus invidiam valentissima. Hinc deductus
 “ mos, ut bulla et prætexta in usum puerorum nobilitium
 “ usurparentur^h.” Ex quibus verbis, hoc imprimis notan-
 dum; quod Macrobius de bullæ origine hoc loco disputans,
 sententiam eam, non ut suam aut certam, sed unam solum-
 modo ex multis proponat; quæ tamen ab eo postea rejecta est.
 Deinde, quod morem eum bullæ in triumpho gestandæ, ante
 Tarquinii tantum ætatem obtinuisse dicat: neque apud alium
 quemlibet scriptorem antiquum, de bullis hisce triumphalibus,
 mentionem omnino ullam animadverti.

Plutarchus contra scribit, “ Romulum, cum Veientes prælio
 “ fudisset, eorum Ducem provectæ ætatis in triumpho capti-
 “ vum duxisse, sed puerili vestitu propterea indutum, quod
 “ præter ætatem imperite et pueriliter rem gessisse putaretur:
 “ idque ad suam usque ætatem mansisse, ut triumphantes,
 “ cum ob victoriam partam sacrificarent, senem quendam
 “ prætexta et bulla puerili, ludibrii causa ornatum, per Fo-
 “ rum in Capitolium ducerentⁱ.” Ex quo apparet, neque
 Romuli neque Plutarchi deinceps temporibus, bullam a Tri-
 umphantibus omnino gestatam esse, sed seni cuidam ridiculo,
 per jocum solummodo, in triumpho tributam: unde in pro-
 verbii consuetudinem venisse videtur, ut si quis ætate provec-
 tior inepte aliquid fecisset, is bulla dignus appellaretur, secun-
 dum istud Juvenalis, in Crispinum illudentis,

——— *Dic Senior, Bulla dignissime^k.*

^h Saturn. 1. 1. 6.

^k Sat. 13. v. 33.

ⁱ In Vit. Romul. p. 33.

Ornamenta porro Triumphalia, Massinissæ olim regi a populo Romano missa, a Livio figillatim omnia enumerantur; *aurea*, videlicet *corona, aurea patera, sella curulis, Scipio eburneus, Toga picta, et Tunica palmata*: quæ cum Scipio ille Africanus, populi jussu, regi traderet; addidit, inquit Livius, verbis honorem; *neque magnificentius quidquam Triumpho apud Romanos, neque Triumphantibus ampliolem eo ornatu esse*¹: in quo tamen ornatu bullam auream locum nullum habuisse videmus.

Quod argumentum vero nostrum quam maxime confirmat, puerorum bullatorum statuæ, ut dixi, permultæ adhuc extant, at nulla tamen Triumphantis bullati effigies uspiam visa est: cumque in marmoribus, arcubus triumphalibus, nummis, columnisque antiquis, Triumphantium interdum figuræ in ipso triumphandi actu curruque exsculptæ reperiuntur, bulla tamen aurea nusquam apparet; quæ cum supra togam de collo dependere solet, nec omitti nec abscondi poterat, si ad Triumphantium omnino ornatum pertinuisset^m. At vero bullas istas pueriles, maximo semper apud Romanos in honore fuisse, accepimus. Bello enim Punico, cum summa pecuniæ inopia premerentur, ærariumque prorsus exhaustum esset, Senatus decrevit, “ ut quicquid auri argenti ærisve signati domi “ habuerint, id omne in publicum conferrent, ita tamen ut

¹ Liv. l. 30. 15.

^m Pierius autem Valerianus, de Bullæ aureæ usu disputans, Triumphatoris sane, curru triumphali inveci, effigiem exhibuit, cui Bulla e collo dependet. Illa vero, ex nullo monumento vetere desumpta, sed ad argumentum solummodo pro more suo il-

lustrandum inventa, atque ex auctoris ipsius ingenio penitus ficta est: cujus quidem speciem ornatumque omnem, a germano Triumphantium veterum habitu omnino abhorre, constat.

Vid. Pier. Valer. Hieroglyph. de Bull. p. 301.

T A B U L A III.

“ anulos sibi quisque et filio bullam relinquit.” Ser-
torius denique, cum in Hispania bellum contra Romanos
gereret, quo Hispanorum animos sibi devinciret atque
in fide sua retineret, prætextam bullamque auream li-
beris eorum, Romano more gestandam, dedisse traditur.

Bullæ vero aureæ loco, Libertinorum, civiumque pauperi-
orum filios, signum quoddam ejusdem formæ, sed ex corio
factum, gestare consuevisse legimus; de quo Juvenalis,

——— *Etruscum puero si contigit aurum,
Vel nodus tantum, et signum de paupere loro.*

Sed pauperiores etiam isti, ut modo dictum est, quum ex
rerum suarum angustiis emergere cœpissent, bullam sibi au-
ream pro libitu sumpsisse videntur. Cujus quidem figura
semper rotunda fuit; ita ut ea omnia, quæ alia quavis for-
ma, bullarum vero nomine, Montfauconius cæterique exhibu-
erunt, ad amuletorum classẽ Bonannius omnino referenda
putat: quæ pro parentum arbitrio, et forma et materia inter
se discrepantia, puerorum collis suspendi solebant.

Ab his autem bullis, ornamenta balteorum cingulorum-
que militarium deaurata, seu acupicta, quæ rotunditate et
colore similitudinem quandam præ se ferebant, a scriptoribus
antiquis bullæ vocantur.

“ Liv. l. 26. 36. it. Flor. l. 2. 6.

“ Plutarch. in Vit. Sertor. p. 575.

“ Juven. Sat. 5. 165. it. Macrob.
Saturn. 1. 6.

“ “ In iis enim Ethnici characteres
“ magicos seu alias res inscribebant, quas

“ putabant validiores ad avertendas fasci-

“ nationes et morbos: eas inter amuleta

“ repono, nequis putet illas ex eo genere

“ Bullarum esse, quæ e collo puerorum

“ nobilium olim dependebant.” *Mus.*

Kicherian. p. 37.

*Phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea Bullis**Cingula* ^r ———*Humerum nodis cui balteus asper
Subligat* ^r.

Ubi quas Virgilius, Bullas, Juvenalis et Valerius Flaccus nodos appellant; quippe eodem sensu vox utraque usurpata erat, pro rotundis scilicet et convexis operis cujuslibet particulis, quæ supra reliquas e superficie eminebant.

Hinc item clavorum capita rotunda et deaurata, quæ in templorum valvis, divitumve foribus infigi solebant, bullas vocari cognovimus.

Jussin' in splendorem dari Bullas has foribus nostris ^r?

bullasque præterea, ex auro solido conflatas, Cicero e templo Minervæ a Verre furto ablatas, commemorat ^u.

Atque hinc quoque figilla ista rotunda et speciosa, quæ ex auro vel alia quavis materia, Diplomatum Epistolisque Imperatorum ac summorum Pontificum adnectebantur, a mediæ ævi scriptoribus bullæ appellantur ^x. At vero nomen tandem a figillis, ad Chartas ipsas traductum est; atque Imperatorum, Pontificumque decreta et diplomata, bullas etiam hodie nominari cognovimus.

^r Virg. Æn. 9. 359.——— *Notis fulserunt cingula Bullis**Pallantis pueri* ——— ibid. 12. 942.^r Valer. Flacc. Argonaut. 579.^r Plaut. Afinar. 2. 4. 203.^u Bullas aureas omnes ex his valvis,

quæ erant multæ et graves, non dubitavit auferre, quarum iste non opere delectabatur, sed pondere. Cic. in Ver. 4. 56.

^x Du Fresne Glossar. οἰκεία ἐσφραγίσαν βαλάν.

T A B U L A III.

S E C T. II.

PICTURA hæc vitrea, in qua mulieris ac pueruli imagines coloribus aureis venuste fatis expressas cernimus, in Tiburis antiqui ruinis, una cum aliis quibusdam vasculis, e vitro pariter conflatis, reperta fuit: quæ quidem ex pulchritudine ejus, eorum certe temporum fuisse apparet, quibus ars ipsa pingendi haud multum a priscorum adhuc perfectione descivisset. Ficcoronius, qui figuram ejus ectypam Romæ in lucem edidit, eam ad Alexandri Severi ætatem referendam arbitratur^y. At comarum ornatus, reticulumque aureum, quo mulieris caput tegitur, antiquitatem quandam superiorem redolere videntur: quippe reticulum vel Republica florente, perinde ac Cæsarum postea temporibus, inter muliebria capitis ornamenta recensitum legimus.

Reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet^z.

Sed mulieris item collum catenula, seu monili aureo ornatum est; ejusdem plane generis, ac quod in ollis veterum sepulchralibus, una cum ossibus mortuorum interdum conditum repe-

^y In libro Italice conscripto, Della Bolla d'Oro de' Nobil. Roman. &c. 4to in Roma. 1732. p. 12.

^z Juven. Sat. 2. 96. Varr. de ling. lat. l. 4. Nonius Marcellus reticulum tegmen capitis muliebre vocat. [De prop. Serm. c. 14.] Servius locum istum Virgilii,

Crines nodantur in aurum, de retiolo aureo intelligit, in quod Didonis comæ colligebantur. [Æn. 4. 138.] Isidorus autem reticulum, non a rete, sed quod crines retineret, ita vocari, haud recte arbitratur. Orig. l. 19. 31.

ritur^a. Quod vero ad rem nostram magis pertinet, de pueruli collo bulla aurea, ingenuitatis insigne, dependens cernitur; quæ cum forma, tum magnitudinis proportionem, cum bulla ista germana, quam supra exhibui, penitus congruit.

Quinetiam pueruli hujus toga singulare quiddam exhibere videtur; nam fasciam quandam latam, baltei ad instar, trans pectora ductam, atque alteram inde ejusdem formæ, deorsum pendentem cernimus. Atqui hanc eandem togæ speciem in aliis item paucis, et virorum et fœminarum statuis observavi; de qua tamen nihil omnino quod liquet, a scriptoribus traditum reperio. Hoc mihi tamen verisimile apparet, fascias hæc, togæ ejus quam *trabeam* vocabant, formam et gestandæ morem indicare. Trabea enim nihil aliud erat, ac togæ species quædam, purpureis fasciis, virgisque, velut trabibus distincta; quam ita in gestando componere ac complicare solebant, ut ex fasciis istis una semper in pectore nitesceret, altera deorsum inde fluere videretur^b. Trabeam autem ipsam non nisi regum initio gestamen fuisse constat^c; deinde consulum^d; tum equitum quoque in solenni eorum transvectione, a Q. Fabio idibus quintilibus instituta^e. At vero hunc, quem in pictura nostra videmus, trabæ gestandæ morem, non nisi imperatorum postea temporibus obtinuisse puto; neque a principibus tantum aut consulibus, sed a principum item filiis ac propinquis, tunc

^a Vid. Ficcoron. ibid. it. Beger. The-
saur. Brandeb. Tom. 3. p. 426.

^b Vid. Ferrar. de re vestiariar. l. 2. c. 5.
it. Dempit. Etrur. Regal. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 26.

^c Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema
Quirini.

Et falces meruit, Regum ultimus
ille bonorum. Juv. S. 8. 259.

Trabeis usus accipio reges. Plin. Hist. N.
l. 8. c. 48. it. l. 9. c. 39.

^d Ipse Quirinali trabea, cinctuque Ga-
bino.

Insignis referat stridentia limina con-
sul. Virg. Æn. 7. 612.

^e Liv. l. 9. ad fin. Val. Max. 2. 2.

quidem gestari cœpisse: de quorum fortasse numero hunc puerulum matremque ejus fuisse credamus. At posterioribus deinceps seculis, togæ hujus honorem nobilibus, divitibusque promiscue omnibus pro libitu permissum esse, ex sculpturis, statuisque antiquis hac ipsa trabea ornatis, perspicuum est^f.

Permulta vitreorum antiquorum fragmenta, auro coloribusque variis depicta, ab harum rerum studiosis collecta, atque in publicum edita cognovimus^g: de quibus librum sanè singularem, atque eximia eruditione refertum, vir illustris, Philippus Buonarotti, Senator Florentinus, Italica lingua conscripsit^h. Ad quem, ab humanissimo doctissimoque sene, Salvinio, ipse olim Florentiæ deductus, ædes ejus vidi, cum Romanorum, tum Tuscorum veterum statuis, vasculis, sculpturisque egregie ornatas; neque minus tamen ob posteriorum item seculorum inventa celebrandas; nobilia præsertim summi istius pictoris atque antecessoris sui, Michaelis Angeli Buonarotti opera, a quo conclave quoddam, exquisito artificio pictum, in iisdem ædibus ostenditur.

Auctor autem iste eruditus fragmentorum istiusmodi vitreorum octoginta circiter accurate descripta, in librum suum contulit; singulisque dissertatiunculam adjecit. Horum vero pars maxima a priscorum temporum Christianis provenisse apparet, ut ex Christi Apostolorumque ejus figuris, opere plerumque rudi ac deformi pictis significatur; quas tamen om-

^f Vid. Boissard, Tom. 3. p. 92. Montfauc. Vol. 3. l. 1. Tab. 6. fig. 2. item arcus Constantini figuras.

^g Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Tom. 2. p. 265. 403, 689, &c. it. Fabrett. In-

script. p. 537, 593.

^h Osservazioni sopr. alcun. Framment. di vasi antichi di vetro, ornati di figure. Fol. in Firenze. 1716.

nes, ex literis, notisque ibi adscriptis, Constantini ætate antiquiores esse, vir doctus contenditⁱ.

Sed præter ista Christianorum vitra, pauca etiam quædam præstantiora, ac majori artificio elaborata, in eodem libro reperiuntur, ex Gentilium reliquiis et supellectile derivata; Deorumque veterum imagines ac symbola plerumque exhibentia: quorum quidem unum alterumve, cum forma ipsa et magnitudine, tum picturæ ipsius elegantia, comarumque muliebrium ornatu, huic nostro quam simillimum apparet, atque ex eo vitri pingendi artificio, quod auctor iste omnium præstantissimum esse declarat^k. Cum hæc vero vitrorum fragmenta, semper fere rotunda, interdum concava, ac sæpe effracta reperiantur; ea non nisi vasculi cujusdam majoris partes, et poculorum præsertim fundos fuisse, casu quodam abruptos, a viris doctis affirmari video; quod etsi de nonnullis fortasse concedendum sit, de universis tamen nequaquam statuendum arbitror^l.

De hac autem quæstione, et de vasculorum simul vitreorum apud Romanos usu, antequam plura disseramus, de vitri ipsius origine pauca quædam dicere libet, quæ in tanta rei obscuritate, ex scriptorum veterum monumentis erucere potuerim. “ Pars Syriæ est, inquit Plinius, quæ Phœnice vocatur, finitima Judææ, juxta montis Carmeli radices, cujus in litore arena quædam invenitur, quæ vitro gignendo aptissima, atque unica fere per multa secula habebatur. Ad hunc

ⁱ In Prefaz. xi, xii.

^k Id. Tab. 25. Fig. 3.

^l Cum certum sit, figuras hæc nonnisi in fundis poculorum pictas reperiri; ut ex

eorum concavitate pluries animadverti. [Fabrett. Inscript. p. 535.] Posso dire, che sono fondi di Bicchieri. *Buonar. Pref. 3.*

T A B U L A I I I.

“ locum fama est, navem olim mercatorum nitri appulsam
 “ esse ; et cum sparsi per littus epulas pararent, nec esset cor-
 “ tinis attollendis lapidum occasio, glebas eos nitri, lapidum
 “ loco, e navi subdidisse ; quibus accensis permixta arena lit-
 “ toris, translucens nobilis liquoris fluxisse rivos, atque
 “ hanc fuisse originem vitri^m.” Hinc Sidon, urbs ejus regio-
 nis primaria, atque ob artium multarum præstantiam, ab
 Homero ipso celebrataⁿ, vitri quoque officinis nobilis, specu-
 lorumque inventrix esse dicitur^o.

Apud Persas, ante Alexandri Magni tempora, calices vi-
 treos in usu deliciisque fuisse liquet : quippe legati quidam
 Athenienses ab Aristophane Comico inducti sunt, tanquam a
 Persis nuper reversi, qui Regis istius luxum et magnificentiam
 laudibus extollentes, *se vinum ibi dulce e poculis vitreis atque au-
 reis bibisse*, narrant^p. In Ptolemæi quoque Philadelphi pom-
 pa Alexandrina, duo calices vitrei, sive calicum potius vitreo-
 rum abaci, e gaza regia ad populum producti memorantur^q.
 In Lesbo pariter, vitriariorum officinas eadem ætate extitisse,
 poculumque quoddam vitreum, cui Lesbium nomen erat,
 apud Græcos in conviviis usurpatum esse, ex epigrammate
 veteri discimus^r. At posterioribus deinde seculis, hoc vitri
 fingendi artificium in Ægypto maxime floruit : ubi Strabo,
 se a vitriariis Alexandrinis audiisse scribit, *terram quandam vitra-
 riam reperiri, sine qua nulla pretiosa, aut variorum colorum opera
 effici possent*^s. Ex quo genere calices fane isti fuere, quos

^m Hist. N. l. 36. c. 26.

ⁿ Iliad. Z. 289. ψ. 743. Odyss. O. 115.

^o Sidon artifex vitri. Plin. l. 5. 19.
 it. l. 36. 25.

^p Acarn. Act. 1. Scen. 2. v. 74.

^q Καὶ κυλικεῖα δύο, καὶ ὑάλινα διαχρύσα
 δύο. Athenæ. l. 5. c. 7.

^r Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑέλου, &c. Athen. l. xi.
 c. xi.

^s Lib. 16. p. 758.

Hadrianns Imperator, ad Servianum scribens, a sacerdote sibi Ægyptio donatos ait. “ Calices tibi, inquit, allaffontes¹, “ [verficolores] tres mihi, quos mihi sacerdos templi obtulit; “ tibi et forori meæ specialiter dedicatos; quos tu velim festis “ diebus conviviis adhibeas: caveas tamen ne his Africanus “ noster indulgenter utatur.” Neque ex alio genere vitrea quoque ista fuisse videntur, quorum *diversitate atque operositate*, *Tacitus Imperator* delectatus esse memoratur².

Ab Ægypto igitur, a Romanis demum subacta atque in provinciam redacta, immanis iste vitreorum luxus, una cum ceteris Alexandriae deliciis, Romam præcipue invehctus apparet. Nam ante id tempus rara admodum de vitri usu aut pretio, apud scriptores Latinos mentio reperitur³. Sed a primis usque Cæsarum temporibus, pocula vitrea seu crystallina, ut sæpe eadem vocantur, et principibus et divitibus item quibuscumque summo in pretio fuisse certissimum est. “ Cum Augustus, ut “ a Seneca memoriæ proditum est, apud Vedium Pollionem “ cœnaret, unus ex servis fregerat ejus crystallinum. Rapi “ eum iussit Vedius, nec vulgari quidem periturum morte; “ nam murænis objici jubebatur, quas ingens piscina contine- “ bat——evasit e manibus puer, et confugit ad Cæsaris pe- “ des; nihil aliud petiturus, quam ut aliter periret, nec esca “ fieret. Motus est novitate crudelitatis Cæsar, et illum qui-

¹ Vox Græca Ἀλλάσποντες, allaffontes, idem significat ac colorem mutantes, vel ut hic explicatur, verficolores, quod quidem verbum interpretationis gratia in margine adscriptum, in textum inde irripuisse videtur.

² Flav. Vopisc. in Saturnino. c. 8.

³ Vid. eund. in Tacito. c. vi.

⁴ Cicero autem inter merces ex Ægypto Romam avehctas, chartas, lintea, vitrum, recenset: [Pr. Rab. Posth. c. 14.] de vitro autem, ante id tempus, ne verbum quidem a Romano aliquo dictum memini.

T A B U L A III.

“ dem mitti, cryſtallina autem omnia coram ſe frangi juſſit,
 “ complerique piſcinam².”

Tiberii deinde principatu, illud vitri temperamentum Romæ excogitatum fertur, ut flexibile eſſet : de quo celebris fane hiſtoria a ſcriptoribus tradita eſt. “ Faber fuit, inquit Petro-
 “ nius, qui vitrea vaſa fecit tenacitatis tantæ, ut non magis
 “ quam aurea vel argentea frangerentur : quum ergo phialam
 “ hujusmodi de vitro puriſſimo, et ſolo, ut putabat, dignam Cæ-
 “ ſare fabricaſſet, cum munere ſuo Cæſarem adiens, admiſſus
 “ eſt. Laudata eſt ſpecies muneris, commendata manus arti-
 “ ficis, acceptata devotio donantis. Faber, ut admirationem
 “ intuentium verteret in ſtuporem, et ſibi plenius gratiam
 “ conciliaret Imperatoris, petitam de manu Cæſaris phialam
 “ recepit, eamque validius projecit in pavementum, tanto im-
 “ petu, ut nec ſolidiſſima et conſtantiſſima æris materia mane-
 “ ret inlæſa. Cæſar autem ad hæc non magis ſtupuit, quam
 “ expavit. At ille de terra ſuſtulit phialam ; quæ quidem
 “ non fracta erat, ſed conliſa ; ac ſi æris ſubſtantia vitri ſpe-
 “ ciem induiſſet. Deinde martellum de ſinu proferens, vitrum
 “ correxit aptiſſime, et tanquam conliſum vaſ æneum, crebris
 “ iſtibus reparavit. Quo facto ſe cælum Jovis tenere arbi-
 “ tratus eſt ; eo quod familiaritatem Cæſaris, et admiratio-
 “ nem omnium ſe promeruiſſe credebat. Sed ſecus accidit.
 “ Quæſivit enim Cæſar, an alius ſciret hanc condituram vitro-
 “ rum ; quod cum negaret, eum decollari præcepit Imperator,
 “ dicens, quia ſi hoc artificium innoteſceret, aurum et argen-
 “ tum vileſcerent quaſi lutum¹.” Eandem hiſtoriolam Dio, ſed
 confuſe ac abſurde narrat, de phiala ſcilicet, non *conliſa* ſed

¹ Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 40. Vid. it. Dio.
 l. 54. p. 537. it. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 9. c. 23. .

² Petron. Sat. p. 189. Edit. Var.

fracta, atque a Fabro statim de integro reſecta^b: ad eandem quoque Plinius alludit, at *famam ejus crebriorem, quam certior* fuiſſe dicit^c.

Claudio porro imperante, vulgo dici ſolitum legimus, *cum qui vaſcula vitrea vel fracta donaret, civem Romanum fieri poſſe*^d. Ac Neronis ætate, ut Plinius ſcribit, ea vitri fingendi ars re-
perta fuit, quæ modicos duos calices, quos Pterotos vocabant, *H-S ſex millibus* venderet^e. Hac eadem ætate, Seneca eam plane vitri condituram deſcribit, quam in officinis noſtris hodie uſurpatam videmus. Quippe contra Poſidonium Stoicum artes quibus vita utitur, non a Philoſophia repertas eſſe conten-
dens, “ cuperem, inquit, Poſidonio vitrarium aliquem oſten-
“ dere, qui ſpiritu vitrum in habitus plurimos format, qui
“ vix diligenti manu effingerentur. Hæc inventa ſunt, poſt-
“ quam ſapientem invenire deſivimus^f.” Ex quo, iſtud vitri artificium Romæ tunc recens eſſe, neque Poſidonio, qui Pompeii temporibus floruit, cognitum, indicari videtur. At vero paucis deinceps annis, Plinius calicum vitreorum uſum *ar-
genti aurique metalla pepuliſſe*, ait^g.

Jam poculorum iſtorum fundos auro coloribuſque variis depingi ſolitos eſſe, ex fragmentis eorum, quæ adhuc reſ-
tant, apparet; ita tamen, ut imaginum ibi pictarum, littera-

^b Dio. l. 57. p. 617. E.

^c Plin. l. 36. 26.

^d Dio. l. 60. p. 676. D.

^e Plin. l. 36. 26. Per calices iſtos Pte-
rotos, nihil aliud intelligi videtur, ac cali-
ces anſa utrinque alarum quaſi modo in-
ſtruſtos. Qui ſex millibus nummum ſeſ-
tertiorum, ſeu 50 circiter libris noſtræ mo-
netæ vendi dicuntur; ob recentem forſitan

ea ætate anſas fingendi, et cum calice con-
jungendi inventionem——

^f Senec. Epilt. 90.

^g Lib. 36. 26. Alexandri Severi tempo-
ribus, inter Domus Auguſtæ Officia, Præ-
poſitum a Cryſtallinis, in marmoribus an-
tiquis commemoratum invenimus.

Gruter. p. 474. 4.

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rumque inscriptarum formæ, intus usque conversæ, a bibentibus solummodo in situ proprio conspicerentur^h. Vitri autem pingendi artificium hoc fere modo effectum esse creditur. In lamella nimirum vitrea figuras primum, quas vellent, instrumento quodam fabili exarare, atque insculpere solebant; tum in sculpturæ hujus fulcos materiem quandam vitream sive encausticam, quam smaltum vulgo vocant, coloribus variis, at aureo præsertim imbutam, infundebant; ita, tamen, ut luminis simul et umbræ rationem aliquam fervarent; totam denique vitri lamellam, hoc modo depictam, encausto rursus alio crassiori a tergo penitus operiebant: atque hoc quidem optimum vitri pingendi artificium, quod Romæ unquam viguisset, existimaturⁱ. Neque alio sane modo hæc nostra Tabella confecta apparet; cujus imagines aureo penitus colore, at reliqua vitri pars, seu picturæ, ut dicitur, fundus purpureo seu violaceo, depictus est.

At non eadem arte aut diligentia reliqua ista, quæ diximus, Christianorum vitra effecta erant: sed in tenui quodam auri folio, lamellæ vitreæ superimposito, figurarum lineæ extremæ tantum ac præcipuæ, opere simplici ac rudi exaratae esse videntur. Clemens Alexandrinus pocula hujusmodi *vitrea, cælata aut depicta, a Christianorum mensis exulare jubet*; quippe quæ propter fragilitatem et timere simul ac bibere docent^k. Ex permultis tamen vitrorum eorum fragmentis, quæ in curiosorum adhuc Museis conservantur, vel Priscos istos Christianos a luxu isto haud immunes fuisse, liquet.

^h Vid. Buonarott. Prefaz. p. iii, iv.

ⁱ Vid. ibid.

^k Prædag. l. 2. c. 3. De hoc Chrysalinorum frangendorum timore ita quoque Martialis;

*Frangere dum metuis, frangis Crystal-
lina: peccant*

Securæ nimium, sollicitæque manus.
l. 14. iii.

Hæc vero vitrorum Christianorum fragmenta, in antiquis Romæ Cœmeteriis, quæ Catacumbæ vocantur, cuncta fere reperiuntur; in calce plerumque murali infixæ, et juxta loculorum eorum ora seu aperturas, in quibus mortuorum cadavera sepulta jacent. Quæ quidem haud aliam ob causam ibi posita esse existimantur, quam ut in cryptis istis subterraneis et tenebricosis, quæ in infinitos viarum meatus, vicorumque quasi diverticula distribuuntur, mortuorum quisque suorum sepulchra, signo aliquo proprio dignosceret, et pia ibi defunctis seu anniversaria quædam officia præstaret¹.

Ex his autem vitri fragmentis, etiam si nonnulla, ut modo dixi, poculorum quondam fundos fuisse concedamus, non ita tamen de omnibus statuendum est. Vitrum enim nostrum, nec superficie concavum, nec ulla orbis sui parte effractum, sed circulo aureo, tanquam opus quoddam integrum ac perfectum, ab opifice ipso circumductum esse apparet: neque ob aliam certe causam in hunc modum pictum erat, quam ut Fœminæ cujusdam nobilis et filioli imagines ad vivum, ut dicitur, exhiberet, posterisque mandaret. Quippe alia quoque ejusdem omnino generis ac formæ vitra, imaginibus pictis ornata, ex Romæ antiquæ ruinis conservata, atque in libris interdum descripta animadverti: quorum quidem unum, eximie pictum, atque Herculis symbolis instructum, Caninius protulit, idque Commodi Imperatoris effigiem præ se ferre suspicatur^m. Duas præterea alias, hac eadem magnitudine, imagines, in vitro affabre pictas, unam Tibicinis, alteram pueruli, Ficcoronius se tenere scribit, atque ejusmodi esse ait.

¹ Vid. Buonarott. Præf. 8.

^m Iconograf. Tab. 82. p. 112.

ac quæ ab hominibus curiosis in armariis plerumque condifolent^a.

Hæc encaustica pingendi ars apud Græcos fane vetusta erat. Pamphilus enim, Apellis præceptor, et pinxisse encaustica fertur, et docuisse Pausiam Sicyonium, primum in hoc genere nobilem; qui parvas tabellas puerosque præsertim pingere solebat^a. Romæ etiam insignes quosdam imaginum pictores Reipublicæ temporibus floruisse accepimus. Etenim Lala quædam, ut Plinius ait, *Virgo Cyzicena, et penicillo pinxit, et cestro in ebore, imagines mulierum maxime*——arte vero tanta, ut multum manupretio antecederet celeberrimos eadem ætate imaginum pictores, Sopylon et Dionysium, quorum tabulæ pinacothecas implebant^b. Epicuri denique vultum, *in parvis quibusdam tabellis* depictum, discipuli ejus secum circumferre soliti dicuntur^c. Hujusmodi autem imagines in tabellis vitreis persæpe confectas fuisse, propterea conjicere licet, quod *nulla alia materia*, uti ex eodem Plinio discimus, *seguacior, aut picturæ accommodatior* ea ætate habita fuit^d.

Seçt. III.

PRÆTER bullam istam auream, de qua modo disserui, alia item quædam, diversæ prorsus formæ ac generis, a pueris olim Romanis, amuletorum nomine, gestata esse dixi. Apud veteres enim istos opinionem quandam ridiculam et superstitiosam obtinuisse cognovimus, de invidiæ oculique ma-

^a In libro Della Bolla d'oro, &c. p. 12.

^b Plin. l. 35. c. x.

^c Ibid.

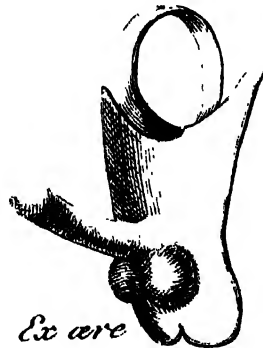
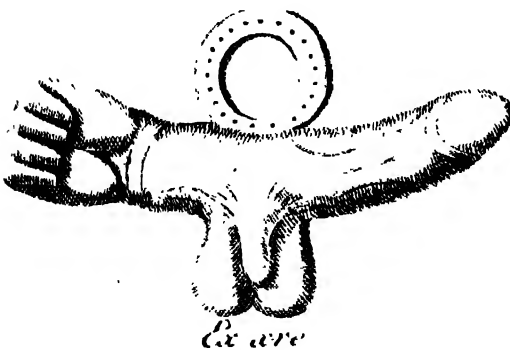
^d Ibid. c. 2. ubi M. item Varronem septingentorum illustrium imagines cuidam suo volumini inseruisse scribit.

^e Id. l. 36. c. 26.

ligni ictu quodam venenato, qui tenera præsertim infantulorum corpora affligere, variisque morbis cruciare solebat. Contra hanc igitur pestem multa ab eis remedia excogitata sunt, quæ a liberis suis gestata, atque e collo potissimum suspensa, incolumes eos ab omni fascinatione præstare credebantur. Sed ex hac omni amuletorum classe, nihil certe valentius habebatur, quam pudendi virilis effigies, ex auro interdum, ære, ebore, aut corio etiam facta¹. De qua quidem re disputare, seu loqui omnino pueret, ni non eos modo omnes, qui Romanorum sibi ritus explicandos sumpsissent, sed et sanctos etiam Ecclesiæ primævæ patres, quo obscænam hanc Gentilium superstitionem ludibrio darent ac detestabilem redderent, de eâ libere differuisse, vidissem.

Quamobrem duas rei ejus turpiculæ figuras hic delineatas damus: quarum altera Romæ mihi in manus incidit; altera Rutupiis², in agro Cantiano reperta, ab amico meo erudito,

¹ Pueris, inquit Varro, *res turpicula* in bonæ scævæ causa. *De Ling. Lat. l. 6.*
collo quædam suspenditur, nequid obsit,



² Rutupæ olim Urbs, Castrum, For- Batteley Antiquitat. Rutupin.
susque Romanorum. De quibus Vid.

et in rebus antiquis exquirendis admodum curioso, Gul. Warren LL. D. Aulæ Trin. apud Cantabrigienses socio, mihi donata est. Quod utraque vero a pueris olim gestata fuisset, ex anulis superne annexis perspicuum est; quorum alter diurno plane usu haud parum attritus apparet.

Permultas sane ejusdemmodi figuras in eruditorum passim museis conservatas, atque in libris quoque descriptas vidi^a; atque unam quoque alteramve, a viris gravissimis, Montfauconio et Bonannio in lucem editam². Rem vero ipsam nominibus variis ab antiquis celebratam invenimus, et Phallum, Mutinum, Tutinum, vel ab effectu, quem edere putabatur, Fascinum plerumque a fascino repellendo, appellatam³. Quippe figuræ hujus turpitudine repulsus, ut Plutarchus ait, *malignorum intuitus, ab homine ipso avertebatur*⁴: five, ut alii dicunt, Deus ipse Priapus, tanquam fascinantium omnium, seu invidentium vindex, ultorque præsens, colebatur⁵.

At vero Fascino, seu pudendo virili, velut generis humani auctori, cultum quendam divinum a plerisque gentibus tributum esse constat^b. In Ægypto, ut apud Herodotum est,

^a Vid. *Memorie del Museo di Lod. Moscardo. in Pad. 1656. it. Mich. de la Chauffe five Causei Mus. Romam. Fel. Romæ. 1707. it. Beger. Thesaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 427.*

² Montfaucon. *Antiqu. Vol. 3. par. 1. l. 2. it. Museum Kirch. p. 37.*

³ ——— *Minusve languet Fascinum. Hor. Epod. 2. 18.*

Pomarii tutela diligens, rubro

Priape, furibus minare Mutine.

Priapeia. 7.

² Symposi. l. 5. p. 681, 682.

^a Diod. Sic. p. 78. D. it. p. 214. Edit. Hanov.

^b Ibid. p. 78. Neque alium sane fuisse antiquissimum illum Moabitarum Deum, Baal-Peor seu Beelphegor ac Romanorum Priapum, ab eruditorum plerisque existimatur. *Istiusmodi Idololatria*, inquit Hieronymus, *erat in Israel, colentibus maxime feminis Beelphegor, idolum tentiginis, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare.* Hieron. in Hæsem, c. vi. it. in c. ix. Oper. T. 3. p. 1261. vers. fin. Vid. it. Calm. Dictionar. in voce Baal-peor.

“ in Bacchi sacris, mulieres statuas quasdam cubitales per pa-
 “ gos circumferebant, quæ nervis seu fidiculis intus dispositis
 “ tractæ, membra sua movere, spontaneo quasi motu, vido-
 “ bantur : Fascino præsertim, quod reliquam fere statuam
 “ magnitudine exæquabat, hinc inde nutante.” Hæc ea-
 dem Phalli pompa, uti vocabatur, ab Ægyptiis ad Græcos tra-
 ducta est, qui Eusebio teste, pudendum virile in *Bacchi sacris*
mysteriisque, Phalli nomine circumferre ac venerari solebant.
 Qui vero Cypriæ Veneri initiabantur, eos *certas quasdam stipes*
Deæ intulisse legimus, et retulisse Phallos, a sacerdotibus sibi
 donatos, tanquam propitii numinis signa.

Hic idem Fascini cultus e Græcia deinde Romam transiit,
 ubi Phalli ingentis erectique specics, e columna marmorea seu
 ligna exsculpta atque extans, qualis in sculpturis interdum an-
 tiquis cernitur, sub Priapi, Mutini, vel Fascini nomine, divi-
 nos plane honores obtinuit. “ Mutini Tutini sacellum, in-
 “ quit Festus, fuit in Veliis adversus murum Mustellinum in
 “ angiportu, de quo aris sublatis balnearia sunt facta domus Cn.
 “ Domitii Calvini ; cum mansisset ab urbe condita ad princi-
 “ patum Augusti Cæsaris inviolatum, et sancte cultum fuisset,
 “ ut manifestum est ex Pontificum libris. Nunc Ædiculam
 “ habet ad sextum et viceesimum, dextra via, juxta diverticulum

Herodot. l. 2. p. 109. Ed. Lond.

“ Præpar. Evang. l. 1. Sect. 1. it.
 Plutar. de divitiar. cupiditat. p. 527. D.
 Hinc Phallophorum, qui Phallos scilicet
 istos in sacris Dionysiæ portabant ;
 itemque Ithyphallorum nomina apud an-
 tiquos scriptores occurrunt. [Diod. Sic.
 l. 3. p. 214.]

— Sed truncum forte dolatum

Arboris antiquæ, numen venerare Ithyphalli.

Terribilis membri, medio qui semper in borto
Inguinibus puero, prædoni falce minatur.

Columel. de Hortor. cult.

Suidas autem Muscorum genus quoddam
 nominibus illis denotari dicit, qui in Dio-
 nyfii sacris carmina quædam Phallica, cum
 gesticationibus mimicis cantare solebant.
 Vid. it. Athenæum. l. 24. c. 4. it. Cæf.
 Rhodig. l. 7. c. 16.

“ Arnob. con. Gent. l. 5.

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“viæ; ubi et colitur, et mulieres sacrificant in ea togis prætextis velatæ^f.” Quid autem in sacrificiis istis a mulieribus factum erat, a sanctis, ut dixi, Patribus, in nefandos hosce ritus invehentibus, discere licet. *Mutini immanibus pudendis*, inquit Arnobius, *horrentique Fascino, vestras inequitare matronas, et auspicabile ducitis et optatis^g*. Lactantius item, *in sinu ejus pudendo nubentes præsidere*, ait, *ut illarum pudicitiam prior Deus delibaret^h*. Augustinus quoque scribit, *novas nuptas super ejus immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere jussas esse, more honestissimo ac religiosissimo matronarumⁱ*. Theophilus denique Alexandriæ Episcopus, in cultum hunc infanum non verbis solummodo illudere contentus, Phallos ipsos, ex Templorum veterum adytis extractos, per *medium forum portari*, ac *gentium mysteria ludibrio palam omnibus exponi* jussit: sed ingentem inde tumultum a Gentilibus excitatum, nec sine magna Christianorum strage postea sedatum legimus^k.

Phalli autem duplicis species ista, quam in figurarum nostrarum altera cernimus, manusque singularem in modum complicata, ut rei obscœnitatem ac turpitudinem illustriorem reddunt, ita amuleti quoque ipsius vim sine dubio augere putabantur. Caligula manum suam in eundem modum formatam, Cassio Chæreæ, ut Suetonius scribit, *ludibrii causa, osculandam offerre consuevit*: ob quam quidem contumeliam a Cassio postea occisus est^l.

^f Vid. in voce Mutinus.

^g Arnob. con. Gent. l. 4.

^h Divin. Institut. l. 1.

ⁱ De Civit. Dei, l. 7. c. 24. it. l. 6.

c. 9.

^k Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 15.

Ingens Phallorum fictilium numerus, et

molis quidem horrendæ, in agro Etruriæ Clusino, A. D. 1725, a fossoribus quibusdam erutus est. Unde Templum ibi Priapi olim stetit viri eruditi conjiciunt. Vid. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. 144.

^l In vit. Calig. c. 56.

Quinetiam Fascinum, non infantium modo et muliercularum Deum, sed Imperatorum quoque custodem haberi, ac *sub curru etiam triumphantium*, ad invidiam pellendam, suspendi solere, ex Plinio discimus^m. Consentaneum nempe antiquis illis visum est, ut idem ille Deus, cui generis humani propagandi munus tributum erat, ad noxia item quælibet ab eo arcenda paratissimus esset. Quod quidem illustrari quodammodo videtur a Symbolica quadam apud Causæum Priapi effigie, cui Galli Gallinacei caput crista ornatum, rostri vero loco, Fascinum ingens datur: cujusque in basi litteris Græcis inscriptum legitur ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ. *Servator orbis*. Quæ omnia vir doctus ita interpretatur: “ Gallum scilicet, avem
“ soli sacram esse; solemque generatricis facultatis præsidem;
“ pudendumque ideo virile Gallinaceo capiti adjunctum denotare, quod a conjunctis solis Priapique viribus, animalium
“ genus omne procreatum et conservatum sit, secundum physicum quoddam Aristotelis axioma, *Homo hominem generat et Sol*.”

In marmore antiquo apud Boissardum, insigne quoddam Priapi sacrificium, egregio opere exsculptum, atque a mulieribus celebratum cernimus: quarum aliæ asinum mactant, paterisque sanguinem ejus excipiunt. Sacerdos vero pudendum

^m Hist. N. l. 28. 4.

ⁿ Caus. Musæ. Romæ. p. 125. Aliam item, nec absimilem sane Priapi ex ære effigiem Begerus protulit, quæ Galli cristam capiti impositam, fascinumque tantæ longitudinis præfert, quantæ mulieres, uti supra dictum est, inequitare facile poterant. Tertiamque simul e marmore

adjungit, cujus in basi litteris pariter Græcis inscribitur.

ΤΩ ΤΗΕ
ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ
ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ

Vid. Thef. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 261, 266. it. Montfauc. Vol. 1. par. 2. l. 1. p. 28.

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Dei floribus ornare, atque unguento aliquo seu aqua e vasculo quodam perfundere videtur. ~~Alia~~ ~~florum~~ pomorumque calathos, ~~alia~~ vascula sacrificalia ~~capitibus~~ ferre: alia tibia inflare; ac cymbala quædam manibus sublatis quatere; omnes vero, Bacchantium ritu, trepidare, oculosque et manus ad Dei simulachrum certatim tendere videntur °.

Sed ut argumentum tandem hoc turpiculum dimittamus: ex nefando isto Mutini cultu, quem usque ab urbe condita Romæ obtinuiffe legimus, verisimile videtur, Romulum ipsum, qui urbis suæ opes atque incrementa, ab hominum multitudine, civiumque numero pendere sciret, non sine consilio quodam civili ac politico sacrum tam obscœnum vel instituisse, vel aliunde exceptum adoptasse; ut cives scilicet sui, ex orgiis istis Priapeis, furore quasi fanatico correpti, et religionis pariter ac libidinis stimulis accensi, ad sobolem procreandam fortius validiusque incitarentur.

S E C T. IV.

AD duas istas Fascini figuras, anulum quendam singularem, quem ad amuletorum omnino classẽ referendum censeo, adjungere libuit; in parte cujus superna, quæ e medio prominet, itemque in utroque orbiculi latere, hæ voces literis Græcis inscriptæ sunt.

CABAω
PEICTE
ADO

NAIAAω
AI
MEIXAH
PBIBA
AH

CICINreVn
ANøAPANrH
NEICOVX

° Boissard. Vol. 1. par. 2. it. Montfauc. ibid.

Ex vocibus hisce conjunctis etiam si nullus plane sensus elici queat, inscriptionis tamen formula, anulum nostrum ex amuletorum eorum numero esse ostendit, quæ in ipsis Ecclesiæ Christi primordiis, a Basilide, Heretico Ægyptio, ejusque sectatoribus fingi ac venditari solita accepimus. Qui quidem Heretici, ut apud Iræneum est, *utebantur magia, et incantationibus, et universa periergia; et CCCLXV ementitorum cælorum nomina et principia, et angelos et virtutes exponere conabantur*¹. Hæc autem angelorum ac potestatum nomina, una cum votibus quibusdam barbaris atque incognitis, in gemmis aut lamellis æneis insculpere, et tanquam amuleta gestare solebant: quorum permulta in eruditorum adhuc armariis conservata sunt; quæ Abraxas vulgo vocantur; eodem videlicet nomine, quo Heretici isti summum Deum invocasse feruntur².

Sed inter alia vocabula, in gemmis his Abraxeis insculpta, Dei nomina Hebræa, e scripturis sacris desumpta, semper fere reperiuntur, qualia nimirum in hoc item anulo ea clare satis

¹ Advers. Heres. l. 1. c. 23.

² Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Rossi. Vol.

2. Fig. 22, 23. it. Cabinet. de S. Genev. p. 124 it. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 2. l. 3. it. Gorlæi Dactyl. Gemm. 324. &c. in Gemmis autem hisce Basilidianis, quæ hodie restant, Dei nomen Græcis litteris, non ABRAXAS sed ABRA-SAX, plerumque scriptum reperitur—

Hereticorum horum doctrina his verbis a Tertulliano summatim traditur. “Basilides summum Deum, *Abraxam*, vocat, a quo mentem creatam, quam Græci, *NOVN*, appellant; inde verbum; ex illo providentiam; ex providentia, virtutem et sapientiam; ex ip-

sis, principatus, et potestates, et angelos factos; deinde infinitas angelorum editiones et probolas; ab istis angelis, trecentos sexaginta quinque cælos institutos, et mundum in honore Abraxæ; cujus nomen hunc in se habeat numerum computatum.” [De Præscript. Heret. p. 250. Edit. Rigalt.] Numeri vero hujus supputandi rationem Augustinus indicat. In nomine Abraxas, inquit, sunt septem litteræ, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, α, σ, id est, secundum Græcam supputationem, *unum et duo, et centum et unum et sexaginta, et unum, et his centum*. Quæ sunt in summa, *ter centum sexaginta quinque*. [De Heresib. in Basilidiani.]

T A B U L A III.

expressa cernimus, in vocibus CABA^ω, ADONAI, AIA^ωAI, Ex angelis autem, Michaelis præcipue nomen, qui eximium quendam cultum apud eos obtinuisse fertur, in amuletis hisce observare licet^r, cujus quidem vestigia hic quoque perspicua sunt, in MEIXAH. Ubi sculptor, pro ultima littera A, litteram P, vel oscitanter, vel consulto^r forsitan posuisse videtur^r.

Hæc, inquam, vocabula, apud Hereticos istos usitatissima, anulum nostrum ex eorum disciplina prodiisse ostendunt : neque illud nos movere debet, quod reliqua prorsus barbara nec omnino intelligibilia sint ; quippe hoc quoque cum eorundem consuetudine penitus convenire accepimus. Etenim Sanctus Hieronymus, nomina ab eis usurpata enumerans, *portenta ea magis, quam nomina vocat ; quæ ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos, eos invenisse dicit, simplices quosque terrentes sono, ut quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur^r*. Has easdem voces Porphyrius, *barbaricas et nihil significantes^u* ; Apulcius, litteras ignorabiles appellat^x. Quas ob eam omnino causam finxisse dicuntur, ut superstitionem suam melius et magica deliria tegerent, ac majorem inde venerationem sibi conciliarent : in ore nimirum habere soliti, *hæc arcana esse, neque a multis sciri*

^r Vid. Montfauc. Vol. 2. par. 2. l. 3. it. Gorl. Dactyl. 343, 353. it. Jo. Chifflet. Abrax. Tab. 4, 6, 21.

^r Hi enim Heretici, quo præstigias suas tenebris melius involverent, voces non modo barbaras, atque incognitas, in amuletis suis miscere, sed cognitatas etiam ac usitatas corrumpere solebant. Quod in hac ipsa voce MEICHAEL, item ac in aliis nonnullis eos revera fecisse, vir eruditissimus J. Chiffletius ostendit. [Abrax. Prot. p. 43.] Atque eodem modo vox,

POICTE, nonnisi ad CHRISTI nomen referendum videtur, omissa tamen prima littera X, nam diphthongum EI pro vocali, I, in antiquis marmoribus, numismatibus, ac codicibus MSS. sæpissime usurpatum est ; uti hic in voce MEIXAHL, et alibi in ipso item CHRISTI nomine animadverti.

^t Oper. Vol. 4. par. 2. p. 581. Edit. Benediçt.

^u Apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. 4.

^x Metamorph. l. 2.

*posse ; sed ab uno tantum a mille, et duobus e myriadibus*⁷ ; atque hominibus licet ignota, Deo tamen cognita esse ; et mysticam quandam rationem continere⁸.

Hæc Basilidis figmenta ex Ægypto Romam migrasse constat. Nam in gemmis hæc Basilidianis, Romanorum interdum Deorum figuras ex una parte, et vocabula ista abraxea ex altera ; atque in nonnullis, Deorum simul Latinorum Ægyptiorumque symbola commixta cernimus⁹ : ad quod Prudentius fane alludere videtur,

*Isis enim et Serapis et grandi simia cauda,
Et Crocodilus, id est, quod Juno, Laverna, Priapus.
Hos tu Nile Deos colis, et tu Tybris adoras*^b.

De Basilide autem ita Sanctus Hieronymus, “ Quadringenti, “ inquit, fere anni sunt, quod Christi prædicatio fulget in “ mundo, ex quo innumerabiles Hereses tunicam illius consci- “ derunt. Universus pæne error de Chaldæo et Syro et Græco “ fermone processerat. Basilides magister luxuriæ et turpissi- “ morum amplexuum, post tot annos ita in Jovinianum, “ quasi in Euphorbum transformatus est, ut latina quoque “ lingua haberet heresim suam^c.

Hac autem Basilidis ætate, magicas hæc vanitates non Romæ tantum, sed apud omnes fere gentes summo in honore

⁷ Iren. Adv. Heres. l. 1. c. 23. it. Epi-
phan. Heres. 24. §. 5. it. Theodor. He-
ret. Fab. l. 1. c. 4.

⁸ Vid. Jamblich. de Myst. §. 7. c. 4.

⁹ Vid. J. Chifflet. Abrax. Prot. Tab.

21, &c.

^b Contr. Symmach. l. 1. l. v. 868. *grandi*

Simia cauda, Hereticorum eorum Deum, *Abraxam*, denotare putatur, quem sub ea forma in gemmis suis describere solebant.

Vid. Chifflet. Tab. 14.

^c Advers. Jovinian. l. 2. Oper. Vol. 4. par. 2. p. 227.

fuisse legimus. De quo præclarum sane Plinii testimonium huc adducere libet. “ Hæc, inquit, fraudulentissima artium
 “ plurimum in toto terrarum orbe, plurimisque seculis valuit.
 “ Auctoritatem ei maximam fuisse nemo miretur, quandoqui-
 “ dem sola artium tres alias imperiosissimas humanæ mentis in
 “ unam se redegit : natam primum e medicina nemo dubitat ;
 “ ac specie salutari irrepsisse, velut altiore sanctioremque
 “ medicinam : ita blandissimis, desideratissimisque promissis
 “ addidisse vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat
 “ humanum genus : atque ut hoc quoque suggererit, miscu-
 “ isse artes mathematicas ; nullo non avido futura de sese sci-
 “ endi, atque ea e cœlo verissime peti credente. Ita possessis
 “ hominum sensibus triplici vinculo, in tantum fastigii adole-
 “ vit, ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat,
 “ et in oriente Regum Regibus imperet ^d.

At vero de anulis hisce magicis, qui morbos, Dæmones, et noxia quælibet avertere credebantur, crebram ab antiquis mentionem factum invenimus. Apud Aristophanem, Sycophanti cuidam iudicium minitanti, Justus respondit, *Ego te non flocci facio, nam gesta hunc anulum, ab Eudamo drachma emptum.* Ubi Scholiastes, Eudamum istum, *Pharmacopolam, vel aurificem esse ait, qui anulos physis vendebat, contra Dæmones, serpentes, invdiam, atque alia ejusmodi noxia^e.* De iisdem anulis, Antiphanis item, Comici veteris, versus quosdam in hunc sensum ab Athenæo citatos legimus ; *mali jam nihil habeo, et ne habeam precor :*

^d Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

^e Ὅτι οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σε, Φορῶ γὰρ πριά-
 μενῳ

Τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦδε παρ' Ἐυδάμου
 δραχμῆς. in Plut. 884.

at si quid ventrem mihi aut umbilicum cruciet, anulum teneo, drachma emptum a Phertato^f.

Josephus, multos a Dæmonibus correptos, ab Eleasaro quodam Judæo, coram Vespasiano Imperatore, sanatos se vidisse scribit; admoto nimirum Dæmoniacci naribus *anulo quodam medicato*, et Solomonis nomine, carminibusque nonnullis ab Eleasaro recitatis, *Dæmones illico per nares hominum extractos esse*, declarat^g. In has autem hominum vafrorum præstigias, fictasque anulorum vires, Lucianus more suo illudens, *velim modo*, ait, *Mercurius mihi det anulos, qui hujusmodi vim habeant, primum, ut semper valeam et corpore sano sim, neque vulneribus, neque malo ulli obnoxius*, &c.^h. Atque alio loco, de Dæmoniacis, a Syro quodam e Palæstina palam sanatis, loquens, se talia milles conspexisse dicit, neque visu eo terreri, postquam *Arabs anulum sibi dedisset, ex ferro de cruce factum, carmenque docuisset, ex multis nominibus constans*ⁱ.

Anulus autem noster, non ille quidem de ferreis, aut vulgaribus istis drachma emptis, sed ex gemma integra, seu lapide Chalcedonio, cæruleo et pellucido, effectus est. Qui mole licet prægrandis, at præ circuli tamen exiguitate, nonnisi a puerulo aut muliercula gestari posset. Etenim Romanos, ea magnitudine anulos, qui vel pondere ipso molesti essent, gestare solitos cognovimus: jam nonnulli, inquit Plinius, *pon-*

^f Οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω, μηδ' ἔχοιμ'. εἰ δὲ ἄρα

Στρέφη με περὶ τὴν γαστέρα, ἢ τὸν ὀμφαλον,

Παρὰ Φερτάτου δακτύλιος ἔστι μοι δραχμῆς.

l. 3. c. 35.

^g Antiquitat. l. 8. c. 2.

^h In Navig. seu Votis. p. 511. Edit.

Var. T. 2.

ⁱ Id. in Philopseud. p. 338.

dera eorum ostentant ^k. Atque hinc anulos æstivos hibernosque eos habuisse, pro temporum scilicet diversitate, diversæ molis ac ponderis, a Juvenale indicari videtur.

*Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ* ^l.

Singulis hisce gemmis virtutes quasdam physicas et proprias ab antiquis tributas legimus; quæ ad morbos pellendos, corporisque aut animi vires augendas valere putabantur. Jaspis viridis, e collo suspensa, *stomachum firmare, ac calculos urinamque propellere* traditur ^m. Adamas autem *venena irrita reddere, metusque vans depellere* ⁿ. Chalcedonium vero, Marbodæus, Poeta vetus, ita describit.

*Chalcedon, lapis est hebeti pallore resurgens,
Inter Hyacinthum medioximus atque Beryllum,
Qui, si pertusus, digito collove feratur,
Is, qui portat eum, perhibetur vincere causas* ^o.

Has denique gemmas, vel in anulis aureis insertas, vel ipsas interdum perinde ac Chalcedonium nostrum, perforatas, atque in anulorum formam converfas, et Græci et Romani,

^k Hist. N. l. 33. 1. Huc etiam spectat Martialis istud, de Daçtyliotheca Epig. l. 14. 123.

*Sæpe gravis digitis elabitur anulus unctis;
Tuta meâ fiet sed tua gemma fide.*

^l Juven. Sat. 1. 28. Sunt tamen qui anulos hosce æstivos, non ex ponderis sed materiæ differentia explicandos esse putant. Quippe qui ex istiusmodi gemmis effecti essent, de quibus Plinius loquitur, Helio-topiis nempe, Alteriis, Mitharibus aut Iriditis; quæ æstate potissimum nitescere,

viresque suas ostentare, et cum soli opponerentur, magna colorem varietate admirationem sui excitare solerent. Vid. J. Kirchman. de anulis c. 17. it. Plin. Hist. N. l. 37. ix. x.

^m Vid. Anselm. de Boot. Gemmar. Hist. l. 2. c. 102.

ⁿ Plin. ib. c. 4.

^o Vid. Marbod. de Gemmis Poema ad Gorlæi Daçtylioth. a Jac. Gronov. adjunctum, Lugd. B. 1695.

more quodam ab Ægypto deducto, in sinistræ manus digito, qui minimo proximus est, gestare solebant. Quippe ab Ægyptiis, uti Gellius scribit, “compertum erat, nervum quendam
 “tenuissimum ab eo uno digito ad cor hominis pervenire;
 “ac propterea non incitum visum esse, eum potissimum digitum
 “tali honore decorandum, qui continens et quasi connexus
 “esset cum cordis principatu ^p.”

Atqui hæc rei explicandæ ratio, certissimis medicorum experimentis, vana prorsus ac futilis esse convincitur. Aliam vero, ac magis eam quidem verisimilem, ab Ateio Capitone traditam, Macrobius commemorat. “Veteres, inquit, non
 “ornatus sed signandi causa anulum secum circumferebant—
 “imprimebatur autem sculptura materiæ anuli, sive ex ferro
 “sive ex auro foret: et gestabatur ut quisque vellet, quacunque
 “manu, quolibet digito. Postea usus luxuriantis ætatis
 “signaturas pretiosis gemmis cœpit insculpere: et certatim
 “hæc omnes imitatio lacessivit, ut de augmento pretii, quo
 “sculpendos lapides parassent, gloriarentur. Hinc factum est,
 “ut usus anulorum exemptus dextræ, quæ multum negotiorum
 “gerit, in lævam relegaretur, quæ otiosior est; ne crebro
 “motu et officio manus dextræ, pretiosi lapides frangerentur.
 “Electus autem in ipsa læva manu, digitus minimo
 “proximus, quasi aptior ceteris, cui commendaretur anuli
 “pretiositas. Nam——et minus officii gerit, et ideo servando
 “anulo magis accommodatus est ^r.”

^p l. x. c. x.

^r Macrobi. Sat. l. 7. c. 13.

T A B U L A IV.

HÆC Olla Vitrea, forma sane eleganti, in urna marmorea inclusa, ossiumque combustorum reliquiis plena, reperta est. Quippe vascula hujusmodi omnia, quibus defunctorum cineres aut ossa condita erant, in inscriptionibus antiquis Ollæ vocantur; addito tamen interdum epithetō, Ossuariæ, vel Cinerariæ¹. Harum pars maxima fictilis, permultæ vero e marmoribus pretiosis, sculptili opere ornatis, et nonnullæ ex alabaastro etiam orientali formatæ erant: de vitreis autem, nulla, opinor, a scriptoribus antiquis mentio facta est: quas tamen, non tam ob pretium, quam fragilitatem, rarissimas fuisse credendum est; apud populum præsertim, quem, in sepulchrorum apparatu, posteritatis memoriam, et nominis quasi perpetuitatem, omnium gentium maxime spectasse cognovimus.

At præter Ollam nostram, alias duas, tresve ad summum, e vitro pariter conflatas, a rerum antiquarum peritis descriptas, atque in lucem editas animadverti²: quarum una, pari fere forma ac magnitudine, atque in urna etiam fictili inclusa, in monumento Libertorum Liviae Augustæ, Romæ haud dudum reperta fuit; cujus quidem figuram, vir eruditus, Franc. Gorius, in monumenti istius descriptione, delineatam edidit³:

¹ Vid. Gruter. Inscript. De Ollis. it. Monument. Libertor Liviae Augustæ a Gorio Edit. Florent. 1727. Fol.

² Vid. Beger. Thesaur. Brandeb. Tom. 3. P. 470.

³ *Vitrum Vasculum, Diaton*, sive cum

duabus ansis, operculo munitum exhibemus: quod sane perelegans est, altitudine unius palmi Romani, quod in fictili olla inclusum erat. Vid. Gorium ibid. Tab.

17. P. 49.

- fed nullam prorsus, perinde ac nostram, pictis hominum imaginibus coloribusque aureis ornatam, vel ipse unquam vidi, vel ab alio quovis visam esse, audivi.

T A B U L A V.

IN fundo Ollæ nostræ, mortui imago aureis coloribus picta est, qui, quatenus ex vultu ejus, ossiumque reliquiis intra ollam repertis atque adhuc conservatis, conjicere liceat, haud annum ætatis viceffimum attigisset. Imago vero ipsa fronde pampinea, foliis racemisque florente, tanquam circulo, circumducta est: quo quidem ornatu Urnas veterum sepulchrales sæpe decoratas videmus; atque eo fere modo, quo in Sarcophagis interdum marmoreis, mortuorum imagines sculptili opere fictas, atque orbiculari tabella inclusas reperimus".

Sect. II.

IN ambitu Ollæ, figuræ istiusmodi pinguntur, quæ ad sepulchrorum ritus, mortuorumque statum pertinere credebantur. Duæ imprimis Cupressi, arbor Diti sacra; atque ad mortuorum domos, ut Plinius ait, *funebri signo posita*^x. De quo ritu Festus, quia *hæc arbor*, inquit, *excisa non renascitur, in tutela Ditis patris esse putabatur*^y. Servius eam ad mortuorum januas idcirco positam dicit, *ne quis imprudens funeslam domum rem divinam facturus introiret*^z. Atque hinc in Urnis, Lucernisque sepulchralibus, Cupressi sæpe figuram, ex utro-

^x Vid. Monument. Libert. Liv. Aug.
Tab. 8, 9, 10, 13, &c.
^y Hist. N. l. 16. 33.

^y In voce Cupressus.
^z Ad Æneid. 4. v. 506.

que vasculi latere, eodem modo atque ad mortuorum fores poni confuerat, positam videmus^a : Neque tamen ad omnium, sed ad divitum præcipue domos collocari solere, ex Claudiani loco quodam significari videtur.

Et non plebeios luctus testata Cupressus^b.

Hæ vero Cupressi cum ad mortuorum fores dies aliquot^c mansissent, in pompa demum funebri portatæ, atque una cum mortui cadavere in rogam conjectæ erant; propter gravem ut Varro scribit, *Ustrinæ odorem, ne eo offendatur populi circumstantis corona^d*. Hinc illud Horatii,

*Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
Uxor : neque harum, quas colis arborum
Te præter invisas Cupressos
Ulla brevem Dominum sequetur^e.*

S E C T. III.

INter Cupressos istas, ex una vasculi parte, duas figuras alatas, alteram Cupidinis, alteram opinor Psyche, depictas cernimus. Quas quidem easdem, diverso licet gestu ac positura, in Sarcophagis, Ollisque antiquorum^f marmoreis persæpe insculptas observavi^f. Psyche, persona prorsus symbolica est,

^a Vid. Boissard. Tom. 6. p. 62. it. Lucern. Antich. Da Pet Sant. Bartoli Fig. xi. 13. it. in hac nostra collectione Tab. 8. Fig. 3.

^b l. 3. v. 442.

^c Mortuus, ut Servius ait, *domi erat septem diebus, octavo incendebatur, nono sepeliebatur*. Ad Æncid. 6. v. 152.

^d Varro, a Servio citatus ad Æncid. 6. v. 216.

^e Od. 1. 2. 14. Hinc Cupressus nunquam fere sine epitheto quodam funesto a Poetis memoratur; atque *atra, feralis, funerea, invisæ, deplorata*, appellatur.

^f Vid. Spon. Miscell. p. 7, 8. Admirand. Rom. Antiqu. 66, 67. it. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 25.

- et Papilionis semper alis instructa; qua quidem, perinde ac Papilione ipso, veteres animam humanam a corpore sejunctam, denotare solitos accepimus. Nihil enim ad naturam ejus immortalem exprimendam aptius esse ducebant, quam animal istud aerium ac volatile, quod per varias formas ad vitam usque novam moriendo transire animadvertissent^a. Psyche igitur figuram, in Olla nostra expressam, non nisi defuncti animam e corpore evolantem, ac cum Cupidine sive amore, quasi summo suo bono, sese conjungere nitentem, denotare puto^b.

Cupido vero ad aram quandam astare, et thure odoribusque Deos Manes placare videtur. Quippe aras ad mortuorum sepulchra extrui solitas esse, ex innumeris fere Auctorum Inscriptionumque veterum testimoniis colligere licet^c.

Divinique ossa Parentis

Condidimus terra, mæstasque sacravimus aras^k

Ante sepulchrales infelix astitit aras^l.

^a Vox græca ψυχή, Psyche, et animam humanam et Papilionem simul significabat. [Vid. Aristot. Hist. Anim. l. 5. c. 19. et Hesych. in voce] quæ quidem ambigua vocis hujus significatio, causa fortasse fuit, quamobrem animalculum istud pro animæ deinceps symbolo sumptum elicit.

^b Hæc rei interpretatio a Platone confirmari videtur; qui animis puris et perfectis alas tribuit, quibus ad cœlestia semper vehuntur; quum alæ vero istæ defluerint, tum ad terrena præcipientes ferri ait. [Oper. T. 3. p. 246 in Phædro.] Dein alio loco scribit, animum quum corporis et sensuum ministerio ad aliquid contemplandum utitur, tum trahi a corpore ad ea, quæ nunquam in eodem statu permanent; atque ipsum errare et tumultuari et

tanquam ebrium vertigine corripitur: quum vero a corpore sejunctus, per seipsum contemplatur, tum ad purum istud immortale, quod semper existit et in eodem statu permanet, contendit, et tanquam ei cognatus cum illo semper versatur. [in Phædon. T. 1. p. 79. Atque hæc animi tumultuantis atque ebrii imago, in Inscriptione quadam sepulchrali expressa esse videtur, in qua M. Porcius Hæredibus mandat—ut *meus Ebrius Papilio Volitet*, &c. Vid. Osservaz. Sopr. Alcuni. Framment. di Vetro. a Phil. Buonarott. p. 197.

^c Vid. Card. Norr. Cenotaph. Pisân. Dissert. 3. p. 608. Gruter. Inscript. p. 527. 4. 528. 1. 549. 1. &c.

^k Virg. Æneid. 5. 47.

^l Ovid. Met. 8. 480.

In his autem aris, *thus* atque *odores Diis Manibus* plerumque incendere solebant: ad quem quidem morem Plinius alludens, *Arabia*, inquit, *felix appellatur, falsa et ingrata cognominis, quæ hoc acceptum superis ferat, cum plus ex: feris debeat*^m.

S E C T. IV.

EX adversa Ollæ parte, inter easdem Cupressos, tres hominum figuræ pictæ sunt, quæ pompæ funebris speciem quandam exhibere videntur. Mimus chorum ducit, qui Cupressum item manibus sublati ad rogam ferre, ac ridiculo quodam gestu saltare videtur. Etenim Mimorum Ludionumque genus omne ad nobilium divitumque funera adhibitum esse legimus. In funere Vespasiani, *Archimimum quendam, personam Imperatoris egisse, atque ut mos erat, facta et dicta vivi, gestu ac voce imitatam esse*, a Suetonio traditurⁿ.

Mimum sequitur mulier, lancem seu ferculum, thure fortitan aromatibusque plenum, ferens. Magnam enim odorum omnium copiam, ab amicis et propinquis collatam, in lancibus ferri, atque in rogam conjici solere notissimum est.

———— *Congesta cremantur*
Thurea dona, dapes^o.

quem quidem luxum Propertius a funere suo prohibet,

^m Hist. N. l. 12. 18.

^o Virg. Æn. 6. 224.

ⁿ In Vespas. c. 19.

Desit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus².

“ In funere J. Cæsaris, præferentibus munera, inquit Suetonius, præscriptum erat, ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque
“ vellet itineribus urbis, in campum portaret³.

Sed cœnam quoque feralem, in pompa funebri portari solitam constat.

—— *Exigua feralis cœna patella⁴.*

Hanc cœnam, silicernium vocabant, et funere peracto, ad sepulchrum celebrare solebant⁵. Horum igitur rituum, unum alterumve, vel cœnam scilicet vel odores lance ferendi, ab hac muliebri figura indicatum puto.

Alia figura restat, facie, ut videmus, aversa, quasi ignem pyræ subditura; quod capite semper averso, tanquam ab invitis fieri dicitur.

² L. 2. 14. de hoc ritu item Statius,

*Quis carmine digno
Exequias et dona malæ feralia pompæ
Perhigat? omne illic stipatum examine
longo
Ver Aratum, Cilicumque fluit, floresque
Sabæ*

*Indorumque arsura seges, præceptaque
Templis.*

Thura.

³ In J. Cæs. c. 84.

⁴ Juvén. Sat. 5. 85. de hoc etiam ritu
Persius,

Sed cœnam funeris Hæres

*Negliget iratus, quod rem curtaveris; urnæ
Ossa inodora dabit, — S. 6. 35.
Vasculum item, quo cœna ferebatur,
Plinius, firculum funeris, vocat. Hist. N.
x. x.*

⁵ Funus exequiati laute, ad sepulchrum, antiquo more, Silicernium confecimus, id est *πεπιδειπνον*, in quo pransi discedentes dicimus, alius alii Vale—[Var. Fragm. e Meleagro, a Nonio citat.] Sequebantur epulæ, inquit Cicero, quas inibant propinqui coronati. De Legib. 2. 25.

——— *subiectam more parentum*
Aversi tenuere facem ¹.

Sed quid homo ipse in manibus teneat, quidve omnino agat, ob colores ibi paullulum detritos, haud fatis perspicuum est. Ex gestu sane, tibicinem eum potius esse conjicerem; nam et tibia et tubam ad funera adhibitas esse liquet: tibia vero puerorum, tuba majorum natu et nobiliorum præsertim exequiis propria fuisse videtur.

Tibia cui teneros suctum producere manes
Lege Pbrygum mæsta ² ———
Nec mea tunc longa spatietur imagine pompa,
Nec Tuba sit fati vana querela mei ³.

. At vero Ollam nostram ossium combustorum reliquiis plenam esse dixi: quippe, rogo extincto, Ossa mortui a matre præsertim aut propinquis, lugubri veste indutis, legi atque in Olla condi solebant.

Abstineas mors atra precor: non hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus ⁴

¹ Virg. Æn. 6. 223.

² Stat. Theb. 6. 120. it. Ov. Fast. 6. 657.

³ Propert. 2. 13. Qui tubis tibiisve ad funera caneant, τυμβαῦλαι græce, fiticines latine dicebantur. Quippe qui apud sitos, hoc est, vita functos caneant: quos propriam quandam tubæ speciem, ceteris longiorem ac latiore habuisse, ex Gellio discimus. [Noct. Att. lib. 20. c. 2. Vid. Hieron. Mag. Miscell. l. 1. 1. it. Kirchman de Funerib. l. 2. 5.] Hæc nobilium funera quia a Præcone indici

publice solebant, indictiva vocabantur. [Vid. Cic. de Legib. 2. 24.] indictmentis autem istius formulam, apud Gutherium de Jure Manium videre licet. l. 1. c. 19.

⁴ Tibull. Eleg. l. 1. 3. v. 5, de eodem ritu Virgilius,

Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
Reliquias vino, et bibulam lavere favillam,
Ossaque læta cado texit Chorinæus abeno.

Æn. 6. 226.

Ritus ipse Ossilegium dicebatur, a Græcis item Οσεολογία. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 243. Ed. Han.

Hinc Seneca ad Helviam, *modo in eundem sinum, inquit, ex quo tres nepotes emiseras, ossa trium nepotum recepisti*².

Figuras denique hasce pingendi modum quod attinet, non arte illæ quidem encaustica, neque ea sane diligentia absolutæ sunt, qua mulieris ac pueruli imagines, supra descriptæ; sed in ipsa tantum vitri superficie, coloribus aureis penicillo leviter ductis, formatæ apparent.

T A B U L A VI.

VAscula jam quatuor lacrymatoria, ut vulgo dicuntur, hic descripta videmus: duo videlicet vitrea, et duo item fictilia; quæ hac plerumque forma in Romanorum veterum sepulchris, juxta Ollas ossuarias posita reperiuntur. Etenim in pompis funebribus mulieres quædam, quæ Præficæ vocabantur, quæque lacrymas pro libitu fundendi artem quandam usu didicerant, ad mortuos deflendo pretio conductæ erant. *Præficæ, inquit Festus, ad lamentandum mortuum conductæ, dant ceteris modum plangendi, quasi in hoc ipsum præfectæ*³.

Præficarum igitur harum, item ac propinquorum lacrymis colligendis, atque in sepulchro condendis, hæc vascula parata esse creduntur. Quæ quidem opinio, primum ex Præficarum munere confirmari putatur; deinde ex vasculorum horum

² De Consolat. ad Helv. c. 2.

³ Quod Præficæ vero nomen in desuetudinem abiisset, a Varrone indicari videtur. Hæc mulier, inquit ille, vocitata olim Præfica, usque ad secundum Punicum bellum. [Fragment. de Vit. Pop. Rom. l.

3.] attamen mos ipse mansit, ut ab Horatio discimus,

*Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt,
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo,
sic ——— Art. Poet. 431.*

forma, ore videlicet patulo, lacrymis excipiendis apto; colloque oblongo, quo manu commodius teneantur; tum ex urnarum sepulchralium operculis, quorum pars media in cyathi sæpe formam excavata, foraminibusque distincta est, ut lacrymæ istæ in suppositos mortuorum cineres defluere facile possent; denique ex verborum formula, in tumulorum sæpe inscriptionibus usurpata, *lacrymas ponere, cum lacrymis ponere, et tumulum lacrymis plenum dare*^b. Atque has potissimum ob causas, omnes rerum antiquarum interpretes, hujusmodi vascula, uno prorsus ore lacrymatoria, seu ad lacrymas, appellant.

Hæc vero hominum doctissimorum sententia, speciosa licet et probabilis, mihi tamen nullo modo vera esse videtur. Equidem mulieres in funeribus veterum ad plorandum adhibitas lubens agnosco: at vero de lacrymis in phialas fundendis, atque in tumulum condendis, ne verbum quidem a veteribus traditum; neque de vasculis ipsis, aut lacrymas colligendi consuetudine, mentionem omnino ullam factam, reperio: neque in pomparum funebrium descriptionibus, ubi plorantium imagines exsculptæ interdum cernuntur, ullum istiusmodi vasculum in mulierum usquam manibus visum memini^c.

Præterea, in Christianorum priscorum sepulchris, hæc eadem vascula, et vitrea et fictilia, reperta esse constat: quorum figuras haud paucas Aringhus in lucem edidit; eaque non lacrymis condendis, apud primævos istos, quibus mori lucrum

^b Fabrett. Inscript. p. 63. Beger The-
saur. Brand. Tom. 3. p. 44. Causeus.
Mus. Rom. p. 108. Monument. Libertor.
Livæ Aug. p. 48. &c.

^c Vasculum ejusdem fere generis ac
formæ, atque unicum quidem, quod in

Romæ veteris monumentis exsculptum un-
quam vidi, in sacrificio quodam Priapi tu-
pra memorato, cernitur: e quo sacerdos
liquorem quandam odoratum forsitam, in
Priapi fascinum floribus ornatum, fundere
videtur. Boissard, V. 1. par. 2.

credebatur, sed aquæ^d lustralis aspersioni parata esse, declarat^d. Quippe in priscorum Christianorum funeribus, neque Præficarum munus, neque vanam eam luctus ostentationem adhibitam esse, verisimile est, sed dolorem solummodo talem, qualem natura exigit; quem ratio simul et religio coercent, quemque vitæ futuræ spes in gaudium quodammodo convertit. Sanctus Cyprianus, “ fratres mortuos desiderari debere ait, non plan-
 “ gi——neque occasionem dandam esse Gentilibus, ut nos
 “ merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum
 “ dicimus, ut extinctos, ut perditos lugeamus.” Sanctus
 “ item Hieronymus, de Paullæ Romanæ morte loquens, “ non
 “ ululatus, inquit, non planctus, ut inter seculi homines fieri
 “ solet, sed psalmorum linguis diversis examina concrepabant.”
 In balneorum quoque antiquorum rudibus, ejusdem formæ ac moduli vascula, reperta nonnunquam cognovimus^e: quæ non nisi odoribus, unguentisque conservandis inservisse, haud cuiquam dubium esse potest. In quem quidem usum et hæc nostra, et ejusdem generis reliqua omnia, quæ vel in Gentilium, vel Christianorum sepulchris reperiantur, parata fuisse existimo; perinde ac ista quoque, de quibus, proximo loco, jam pauca quædam dicturus sum.

^d Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 1. p. 502. Bonannius item, Jesuita eruditissimus, “ Notandum est, inquit, similia vasa
 “ sæpius etiam inveniri in sepulchris
 “ Christianorum, quæ tamen lacrymas
 “ continuisse, non est credendum. Mus.
 “ Kircher. p. 115.

*Jam mæssa quiesce querela,
 Lacrymas suspendite matres,*

*Nullus sua pignora plangat,
 Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est.*

Prudent. Hymn. x. circa exequias. v. 125.

^e Cypr. de Mortalitat.

^f Epist. 86. Oper. T. 4. par. 2. p. 687. Edit. Bened.

^g Bonann. Mus. Kircher. Tab. 51. 7, 8. p. 184.

T A B U L A VII.

HÆc quatuor vascula, e vitro candidissimo confecta, atque in sepulchro antiquo reperta, unguentis, ut modo dixi, odoribusque in tumulum inferendis inservisse, ex eorum forma et magnitudine perspicuum est. Mortuorum enim propinquos, certis quibusdam diebus, sepulchra eorum adire, cineresque floribus, thure, ac odoribus respergere, et vascula, quibus ista intulissent, cum odorum residuo aliquo in tumulo relinquere solitos, constat: de qua quidem consuetudine, frequens admodum cum in libris tum monumentis veterum mentio occurrit.

*Mista bibunt molles lacrymis unguenta favillæ^h
 Afferet huc unguenta mihi, fertisque sepulchrum
 Ornabit custos, ad mea busta sedensⁱ.*

^h Ovid. Fast. 3. 561.

ⁱ Propert. l. 3. 15. De odoribus item

hisce, in marmoribus sepulchralibus mentio frequens occurrit.

D. M.

1.

2,

GEMINIAE. P. FIL.

C. LAELIO. C. F. IV.

MAXIMAE

— — —

STATVTA

— — —

ODORAMENTA.

— — —

EX. H-S. OO OO OO OO

FVSCA. MATER.

PRIMA. MATER.

AD. LVCTVM. ET GEMITVM. RELICTA.

MISERRIMA.

CVM. LACHRIMIS. ET OPOBALSA

FILIAE. CARISSIMAE.

MO. VDVM.

ANN. XVIII.

HOC. SEPULCHRO. CONDIDIT

Gruter. p. 1122. 12.

Muse. Kircher. p. 115.

Montfauconius, Inscriptionis secundæ auctoritate inductus, liquidi genus quoddam *e lacrymis et opobalsamo* commixtum, in *phialas istas lacrymatorias*, ad mortuos respergendos condi solere, declarat. [An-

tiq. Vol. 5. l. 3. c. 7.] Sed nihil profecto aliud Inscriptio ipsa indicare videtur, ac matrem largo suctu atque unguentis cadaver filii humectasse.

Ficcoronius urnam quandam grandem paucis abhinc annis Romæ repertam commemorat, supra quam viginti quatuor vascula fictilia, Ollulæ patellæ, pocilla, pulchre elaborata, posita erant; quæ unguentis odoribusque variis in tumulum inferendis comparata fuisse, censet^k. Vasculi quoque vitrei in alio sepulchro reperti meminit, in quo liquoris etiam residuum aliquod invenisset^l. Gorius etiam Florentinus, sagax ille quidem fidusque rerum antiquarum interpres, *liquores interdum in vasculis his sepulchralibus compertos esse*, scribit, quos odoratos olim fuisse arbitratur^m.

Sed permulta sane ejusdem generis vascula, e vitro pariter conflata, atque ex Christianorum veterum sepulchris eruta, in lucem edidit Aringhus; quæ, quia rubro fortasse, seu sanguineo colore tincta reperiuntur. Martyrum ibi olim sepulcorum indicia jam a Papistis certissima esse credunturⁿ. At vero hujusmodi quoque omnia, unguentis odoribusque condendis destinata esse, haud dubium est: quem quidem morem a Gentilibus ad Christianos, vel priscis istis seculis, traductum esse cognovimus. Tertullianus enim, plus odoramentorum a Christianis profundi solere queritur, quam ab Ethnicis ipsis. “Thura, inquit, plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ querantur, scient, pluris et carioris merces suas Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam Diis fumigandis.” De hoc item ritu Prudentius,

*Nos testæ fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequenti,
Titulumque et frigida saxa*

^k Della Bolla d'Oro. p. 58, 59.

^l Ibid. p. 66.

^m Vid. Monument. Libertor. Liv. Aug.

ⁿ Aringh. Rom. Subterræn. Vol. 1. p.

496.

^o Apologet. c. 42.

p. 49. it. Gruter Inscript. p. 927. 5.

Liquido spargemus odore.

Aperfaque myrrha Sabæo

Corpus medicamine servat^p.

T A B U L A VIII.

DE Lucernis jam sepulchralibus, quarum tres fictiles, et unam quoque æneam, e sepulchris veterum erutas, hic delineatas damus, nonnihil dicendum est. Nam etsi hoc argumentum a viris eruditis exhaustum plane videatur, qui innumeras fere Lucernarum harum figuras e museis suis descriptas ediderunt, de nostris tamen, quatenus proprium saltem aliquid, aut notatu dignum præbeant, pauca etiam quædam differenda esse, duxi.

Lucernas equidem, et in omnibus veterum sepulchris positas esse, et in omnibus pariter, quæ vel hodie etiam fodiendo aut casu aliquo Romæ detegantur, repertas esse, notissimum est. Etenim Romani, ut supra dictum est, certis quibusdam diebus, mortuis iusta facere, inferiasque Diis Manibus, et sacra quædam gentilitia in tumulum inferre consueverunt. Hinc Aræ in sepulchris conditæ, urnæque ipsæ sepulchrales, ararum sæpe forma exstructæ, atque ararum nomine vocatæ^q: atque hinc in sepulchrorum titulis, *itus*, *aditus*, *ambitus* ad sacra ista facienda dari memorantur^r.

In sepulchrorum autem eorum cameris, subterraneis plerumque et tenebricosis, ad ritus eos peragendos, lucernis opus fuisse, necesse est: atque hinc in marmoribus sepulchralibus,

^p Cathemerin. Hymn. x. v. 177. it. v. Monument. Libertor. Liv. Aug. p. 42.

59. ^r Fabrett. p. 265, 293, &c. it. Gruter.

^q Fabrett. Inscript. p. 107, 108, 719. it. 855. 3.

de Lucernis et Lychnuchis pensilibus in sepulchris positis, mentionem interdum factam invenimus¹: et libertatem etiam servis, ea conditione donatam, ut *in monumento, alternis mensibus, lucernam accenderent*².

De Lucernis nostris, Prima, nullis licet figuris aut sculptura ornata, forma tamen eleganti et perbella, atque ex ære conflata est.

S E C T. II.

SEcunda, Cupidinis Hirco insidentis effigiem exhibet; cui haud aliam unquam similem me vididisse memini. In picturis equidem sepulchralibus, Cupidines, Geniosve alatos, cum Hircis sese exercentes ludentesque animadverti; puerorumque lusus variòs, in sepulchris veterum, et coloribus pictos, et e marmore fictos vidi³. Tamen quid istiusmodi figmenta sibi velint, quidve nobis indicent, mihi sane nequaquam liquet; quorum pleraque fortasse nonnisi loci ornandi causa, pro artificis arbitrio excogitata erant. Cum vero Hircum, apud omnes fere gentes, tanquam lasciviæ ac libinis symbolum, habitum esse constet, haud scio, an hac Cupidinis Hirco insidentis imagine admoneamur, eos videlicet omnes, qui amoris lascivi ac libidinosi impulsu agantur, ad mortem immaturam præcipites ferri.

¹ Monument. Libert. p. 50, 51. it. Gruter. 1143.

² Guther. de Jur. Manium. l. 2. c. xi. Gorius Florentinus, qui de monumento *Libertorum et servorum* Livie Augustæ, Romæ haud dudum reperto, librum per-

pulchrum edidit, ad singula monumenti istius *Columbaria*, *Lucernas singulas* olim appensas fuisse, dicit. Vid. Monument. ibid.

³ Vid. Sepolch. Nafon. Append. Tab. 3. it. Ollæ, sarcophagosque a Boissard et Montfauconio delineatos —

S E C T. III.

Tertia, Cupressis hinc et inde exsculptis, decorata est; quas in aliis item Lucernis, perinde ac Ollis sarcophagisque eodem sæpe modo expressas esse dixi, quo ritus scilicet iste, supra memoratus, arborem eam ad mortuorum fores ponendi indicetur^x.

S E C T. IV.

Quarta vero, ex Agni effigie, qua insignitur, ad Christianorum veterum usum aliquem pertinuisse, apparet. Etenim priscis istis Ecclesiæ temporibus, Christi imago sub agni specie ac symbolo pingi solebat: nec antequam Constantini magni ævum, ulla ejus ad crucem affixi effigies, ut Aringhus, auctor sane pius et eruditus, declarat, Gentilium unquam oculis oblata fuit; ne probrum inde aliquod in religionem Christianam derivatum foret, “ Quapropter eorum temporum imbecillitati, uti ait, caute et pro animi viribus prospicientes, “ crucem duntaxat, suppressa Christi imagine, fingeant — et “ agnum interdum sub ipsa cruce consistentem affabre pingebant. De quo etiam Paulinus,

*Sub cruce sanguinea niveo stat Christus in Agno,
Agnus, ut innocua injusto datur hostia letbo^y.*

In cujus rei testimonium picturam item vetustissimam, e Cæmeterio antiquo, Aringhus profert, in quo *Agnus crucem ba-*

^x Vid. Lucern. Antich. Da. P. Bartoli.
Par. 1. Tab. xi, 13. it Boissard et Mont-
fauc.

^y Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 2. p.
557.

culo affixam, vexilli ad instar, gerens depingitur^a. Duosque præterea alios, e Cœmeterio Callisti, agnos affabre pictos exhibet, quorum uterque baculum pastorale, cum vasculo quodam appenso, gestat^a: quibus Christi persona, tanquam Pastor bonus, *agnusque ab origine mundi occisus*, symbolice significari intelligitur. Agni vero typus, in Lucerna nostra, perinde ac in aliis quibusdam expressus, ex istis Apostoli verbis desumptus plane videtur; *Lucerna ejus est Agnus*^b.

Quod hæc vero Lucernæ a Christianis æque ac Gentilibus ad sepulchrorum ritus celebrandos adhibitæ essent, ab omnibus traditum accepimus. Aringhus, innumerabiles fere, vel in uno Sancti Callisti Cœmeterio, Romæ repertas esse, testatur; quarum figuras etiam permultas harum rerum studiosis contemplandas exhibet^c: atque oleum earum, e martyrum sepulchris desumptum, thiracula quædam edidisse, morbosque sanasse, scriptorum veterum testimonio confirmat^d. Lucernas denique istas in eundem finem a Christianis, ac a Gentilibus antea usurpatas esse, perspicuum est; scilicet, ut in Cœmeteriis suis tenebricosis, pia quædam officia, seu sacra anniversaria defunctis præstarent; vigiliæque præsertim, pro temporum istorum consuetudine, ad Martyrum tumulos agerent. Ubi nonnulli etiam, ut Sanctus Ambrosius queritur, “ pocula secum deferre, atque
“ in vesperam usque bibere solebant, neque aliter se exaudiri
“ posse credebant——O stultitiam hominum, inquit, qui
“ ebrietatem sacrificium putant: quique æstimant illis ebrietatem placere, qui jejunio passionem sustinere dedicerunt^e.”

^a Ibid. p. 559.

^b Id. V. p. 557.

^c Apocal. c. xxi. v. 23.

^d Vol. 1. p. 510.

^e Ibid. p. 89.

^f De Elia et Jejun. c. 17.

S E C T. V.

IN sepulchris item veterum, Ollisque ossuariis, res ejusmodi omnes, quæ defunctis, cum viverent, in deliciis fuissent, quasque ornatus præsertim gratia gestassent, una cum cineribus eorum condi solitas cognovimus; puerulorum scilicet *crepundia*, *Bullas*, *anulos aureos*; *mulierum inares*, *monilia*, &c. quæ propinquorum pietas, parentumque maxime erga liberos caritas, in mortuorum honorem Diis Manibus dicare solebant. Quam quidem consuetudinem, etsi a nullo, quod sciam, scriptore antiquo memoratam, Romæ tamen universum fere obtinuisse constat; uti rebus ipsis, quæ ex sepulchrorum veterum ruinis quotidie effodiuntur, aperte demonstratur.

Ficcoronius, in ruinis istis perscrutandis omnium sane versatissimus, se anulos permultos aureos, et gemmis quidem insignitos, una cum ossibus et puerorum, et virorum etiam ac foeminarum, in Ollis reconditos invenisse scribit^f. De quo genere duos istos in hac Tabula descriptos, a puerulis olim gestatos, atque in sepulchris eorum repertos ab eo accepi; quorum alter Deæ Cybeles imaginem, ex auro ipso exsculptam; alter vero Cupidinis, Delphini dorso insidentis, figuram, in Jaspide rubra, in anuli orbiculum inserta, insculptam exhibet.

Hanc eandem Cupidinis figuram, Delphinum fræno ac flagello regentis, in gemmis monumentisque antiquis sæpissime insculptum videmus^g. Quam quidem plerique, Amoris in utrumque elementum, in maria scilicet perinde ac terras imperium, denotare censent; secundum vetus istud de consimili quadam mimagine Epigramma.

^f In libro Della Bolla D'Oro, &c. p. 54, 57, 58, 60, 64.

^g Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Domenico De Rossi. Vol. 3 Tab. 16, 17, 18.

Οὐδὲ μάτην παλάμαις κατέχει Δελφῖνα καὶ ἄνθος,
Τῇ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, τῇδε θάλασσαν ἔχει^b.

*Nec frustra manibus florem ac Delphina coerces,
Illa etenim terras, hac tenet oceanum.*

Nonnulli autem nihil aliud figuris hisce significari existimant, ac singularem piscis hujus erga hominum genus benevolentiam; puerorumque præcipue amores, quibus Delphini flagrare credebantur; quorumque exempla quædam insignia ac mirifica a veteribus memoriæ prodita sunt¹.

Ex anuli nostri forma, lapidisque infigendi ratione, colligere licet, quam in gemmis in anulos inferendis, imperiti ac rudes, vel florentissimis Reipublicæ temporibus, artifices isti Romani, præ nostrorum hominum sollertia fuerint. Etenim anuli orbiculum ab ima parte gradatim amplificare solebant; quoad pars ejus summa, qua gemma includenda erat, quæ Pala dicebatur, magnitudinem gemmæ, quantacunque fuerit, intra orbiculi cavitatem excipere poterat: unde anulos sæpenumero, ob gemmarum magnitudinem et pondus, deformes molestosque fuisse, necesse est^k. Horum ego nonnullos usque ad hæc tempora conservatos vidi, atque unum quidem cui S. Pompeii caput, una cum sculptoris nomine, in Sarda eximie insculptum

^b Antholog. l. 4. c. 12. — Hæc rei interpretatio ab Euripidis loco quodam, a Clemente Alexandrino citato, confirmatur.

¹ Ἐρως γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μόνος ἐπὶ ἔρχεται.
Οὐδ' αὖ γυναικας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἄνω
Ψυχὰς ταράσσει, καὶ πὶ πόντον ἵσχυται.
Amor enim non viros tantum neque fœminas etiam aggreditur; sed et superiorum quoque animos commovet, atque ad infœra maris descendit. — Strom. lib. 6. p. 745. Edit. Oxon.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 8. A. Gellius l.

7, 8. Plutarch. de industr. Animal.

^k Ficcoronius, se anulos interdum aureos in sepulchris antiquis invenisse dicit, quorum alii sex, alii decem Zecchinos, (hoc est, monete Anglicæ tres circiter aut quinque guineas) auri pondere exæquarunt. [L. L. p. 64, 67.] Hinc Isidorus, multi, inquit, Romanorum pro gravitate anulum in digito gestare abstinerunt. [Orig. l. 19. c. 32.] Jam alii, inquit Plinius, pondus eorum ostentant. l. 33. 1.

erat: cujus etiam figura ectypa, inter præstantiores sculpturæ veteris reliquias, a Dominico Rosi Romano in lucem edita est¹.

Anulos hosce *morientibus olim religione quadam detrabi solitos* a veteribus traditum est^m: Quod haud ob aliam fortasse causam factum erat, quam ut cadaver, anulis detractis, lavari commodius, ungique posset, vel ne a Pollinctoribus furtim abriperentur: nam ex iis, quæ supra dixi, apparet eosdem mortuis postea restitutos; atque in sepulchris plerumque conditos fuisse; nisi quod in rogum interdum, ut a Propertio indicatur, conjecti, combustique essent.

*Et solitum digito Berillon adederat ignis*ⁿ.

S E C T. VI.

INaures etiam, uti dixi, una cum cineribus, in sepulchris Ollisque ossuariis, condi solere certissimum est: quarum quidem unam, e sepulchro veteri erutam, mihiq; Romæ donatam, in hac etiam Tabula delineatam cernimus. De inauribus, frequens sane apud scriptores antiquos mentio occurrit; quos de mulierum suarum luxu, sumptuque in auribus ornandis immāni, querentes sæpe invenimus. “ Quare uxor tua, “ inquit Seneca, locupletis domus censum auribus gerit^o? “ neque in alia parte, ait Plinius, foeminis majus impendium, “ margaritis dependentibus^p: ac rursus; quo magis admirari “ subit, unionem in maris rubri profundo, smaragdum in “ ima tellure quæri. Ad hoc excogitata sunt aurium vulnera:

¹ Gemm. Antich. Vol. 1. Tab. 6.

^m Plin. Hist. Nat. 33. 1. Vid. Kirchman. de anulis. c. 22. qui de hoc argumento libellum summa eruditione refertum edidit.

ⁿ Propert. l. 4. El. 7.

^o De Vit. beat. c. 17.

^p Hist. Nat. l. xi, c. 37.

“ nimirum quoniam parum erat, collo crinibusque gestari,
 “ nisi infoderentur etiam corpori^a.”

In hac nostri inauri, lapillum quendam rubrum & pellucidum, sive Rubinus fuerit, sive vitrum solummodo rubro colore tinctum, in auro insertum videmus; atque in vitro ipso, Gallum Gallinaceum opere encaustico affabre depictum; margaritamque inde, qua inaurium maxime decus ac pretium constituebatur, ex aurea catenula pendentem: quæ quidem verum illud esse ostendit, quod de hoc Margaritarum genere Plinius scribit; *seneſta nimirum eas flaveſcere, rugisque torpeſcere; nec niſi juventa vigorem illum, qui quæritur obtinere*^b.

Margaritis autem, sive unionibus, ut vocabantur, inaures fere omnes ornatiores, instructas esse liquet; quas, ob rei similitudinem, *baccas* etiam a poetis appellatas legimus.

Nec ſit marita, quæ rotundioribus

onuſta baccis ambulet^c.

Aure leves baccæ, redimicula pectore pendent^d.

^a Ibid. l. 12. Proœm. quæ hoc loco a Plinio, *aurium vulnera*, a Juvenale, *millis in aure ſereſcunt*, vocantur. Sat. 1. 104.

^b Ibid. l. 9. 33.

^c Hor. Epod. 8.

^d Ovid. Met. l. x. 264. Quia baccæ autem illæ guttarum etiam formam præ ſe ferebant, inaures ipſas a priſcis ſcriptoribus, græca voce, *Stalagmia*, dictas invenimus; eodem ſcilicet ſenſu, ac a noſtris hodie Drops; *diſtillantes enim ſuberno gela ſurias, ſtalugmias*, vocabant. Plin. l. 34. 12. uti a Cæcilio apud Peſtum, [in voce]

Jam ex aure ejus Stalagmiam domi habeo.

Atque a Plauto itidem; Menæc. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

*Amabo, mi Menæchme, inaures da mihi
 Faciundas, pondo duum nummum Stalagmia*

Hæc duorum nummum, parvuli ſane pretii. Stalagmia, ænea certe fuerunt cujus quidem generis inaurem, in Muſeo Sanctæ Geneviève Pariſienſis, deſcriptam videmus, aſulum ſcilicet æneum, ex quo in aurem inſerto, tres baccæ, ſive guttæ vitreæ dependent. p. 33. c. 15. at baccas etiam ipſas intendum æneas fuiſſe, ex Ovidio diſcimus:

—— ——— *ſuſcepit ex tre vitabant
 Auribus in geminis arcum cæca tempore baccæ.*

Met. x. 115.

De hoc autem argumento, conſule Gaſp. Barthelemy de Inaurib. qui omnia ſane, quæ ad illud illuſtrandum pertinent, in opusculum ſuum eruditum accurate congeſcit.

Alia tamen erat, et pretiosior illa quidem, unionum species, quos Elenchos vocabant: “ fastigiata, uti Plinius ait, longitudo et alabastrorum figura, in pleniorum orbem desinentes; quorum binos aut ternos auribus suspendere, ceu sono quoque et collisu ipso margaritarum gauderent, fœminarum gloriam esse dicit^e.”

*Nil non permittit mulier sibi; turpe putat nil,
Cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit, et cum
Auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos^f.*

De his etiam Seneca, “ video uniones, inquit, non singulos singulis auribus comparatos; jam enim exercitatae aures oneri ferendo sunt: junguntur inter se, et insuper alii binis superponuntur. Non satis muliebris infania viros subjecerat, nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent^g.”

Hos igitur uniones five elenchos, qui nostris jam temporibus plane jacent, a Romanis tamen summo in pretio habitos, et gemmis fere omnibus antelatos esse apparet. *Principium*, inquit Plinius, *culmenque omnium rerum pretii margaritæ tenent. Indicus maxime has mittit oceanus—dos earum omnis in candore, magnitudine, orbe, lævore, pondere^h*: quæ vero in his rebus omnibus præstabant, immensi pretii æstimabantur. Hinc celebris ista historiola de margarita ex aure Metellæ detracta, ab Horatio et Plinio celebrata.

^e Hist. Nat. l. 9. 35.

^f Juven. Sat. l. 456. Hos elenchos, uti a Plinio describuntur, *fastigiata longitudine et in pleniorum orbem desinentes*, non nisi Pyri formam habuisse constat. De quo quidem genere, Ficcoronius, se Inaures duas aureas in urna quadam invenisse scribit, e quibus *duo Smaragdi in Pyrorum speciem conformati pendebant*. In libro della Bolla d'Oro &c. p. 60. *Due Orsc-*

chini d'Oro, le quali due Smeraldi fatti a pera.—

^g De Benef. p. 9. Ex hoc maxum luxu, inter Domus Augustæ ministeria, AVRICVIAE ORNATRICES in Inscriptionibus antiquis recenseri videmus. Quibus inaurium scilicet custodiam curamque omnem commissam esse verisimile est. Vid. Grut. p. 579. 2. 3.

^h Hist. Nat. 9. 35.

*Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto
Diluit insignem baccamⁱ.*

Vitellius etiam, in Germaniam a Galba missus, et rei familiaris inopia laborans, *unionem ab aure matris detractum ad itineris impensas pignoravisse* traditur^k. Atque Alexander Severus, “ quum Regis exteri Legatus quidam uxori suæ uniones duos, “ magni ponderis et inusitatæ mensuræ, obtulisset, vendi eos “ iussit. Qui quum pretium non invenirent, ne exemplum “ malum a regina nasceretur, si eo uteretur, quod emi non “ posset, inauribus Veneris eos dicavit^l.

Haud tamen credendum est, veteres istos in luctu ita dementes fuisse, ut inanes illas insigniores, in defunctorum tumulos abjicerent, sed, vulgares potius quasdam et quotidianas; quales illæ sane omnes esse apparent, quas ex variis eruditorum museis a Montfauconio collectas, ac delineatas videmus^m; quarum nulla profecto, aut opere, aut materia aut pretio, huic nostræ anteferenda videtur.

T A B U L A IX.

PRima Tabulæ hujus figura operculum libelli veteris eburneum exhibet: hujusmodi vero libelli, Pugillares appellabantur; quos quidam Romani, sive litteris sive negotiis dediti essent, secum circumferre solebant, ut quicquid sibi, vel meditantibus vel agentibus, notatu dignum occurreret, illud statim perscribere atque notare possent: nam ad notas breves excipiendas, pugillares potissimum adhibitos esse, constat.

ⁱ Sat. l. 2. 3. 239. Decies solidum, Baccæ hujus pretium, octo millia librarum Anglicarum et paullo plus valuisse putatur.

^k Sueton. in Vit. c. 7.

^l Lamprid. c. 15.

^m Vid. Antiqu. Vol. 3. l. 2. c. 5.

T A B U L A IX.

Puer notarum præpetum

Sollers minister, advola.

Bipatens Pugillar expedi,

Cui multa fandi copia,

Punctis peracta singulisⁿ. &c.

Venor aliquando, inquit Plinius, sed non sine pugillaribus^o; nam inter venandum, dum focii ejus apros persequerentur, ipse, ut ad Tacitum scribit, ad retia sedebat; non venabulum aut lanceam, sed stylum et pugillares in proximo tenens, meditantisque aliquid ac enotans, ut si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportaret^p.

Pugillarium horum folia ex rebus variis effecta fuerunt: maxima pars, *e laminis ligneis, cera illitis*, in quibus stylo scribebatur, nonnulla tamen ex ebore, membranis, aut plumbo. De Citreis item, membraneis atque eburneis, epigrammata quædam Martialis extant. Plumbei vero in Sarcophago antiquo reperti effigiem, huic nostræ haud absimilem, a doctissimo Bonannio descriptam cernimus; cui septem laminæ, seu folia plumbea, litteris referta erant: sed quia nullus omnino sensus ex litteris istis elici poterat, librum ipsum ad Talismanorum classem referendum, atque *ad Manes fortasse placandos, Demones fugandos in Sarcophago isto reconditum esse, vir ille cruditus censet^r.*

Noster autem pugillaris an ob eandem causam in sepulchro conditus fuerit, haud facile dixerim; sed in Familiæ Passienæ sepulchro, juxta viam Appiam, anno 1710, Romæ repertus fuit. Folia ei quidem membrana erant, sed ita lacera penitus ac vetustate absumpta, ut nihil inde aliud colligi posset, ac quod litteræ in eis olim perscriptæ, latinæ essent. Pugillaris ejusdemmodi figuram, in monumento mulieris sepulchrali inscul-

ⁿ Aufon. Epigr. 146.

^o Epiß. l. 9. 35.

^p Ib. l. 1. 6.

^r Musei Kircher. p. 180. Tab. 60.

ptam, apud Fabrettum videre licet; ex qua scilicet vir doctus, mulierem istam *notarum describendarum studio ac sollertia* præstiffisse, indicatum esse putat^r. In infcriptione quoque antiqua apud Gruterum, T. quidam Tarfenius, inter alia multa, Municipibus Rheginis testamento donata, *Pugillares membranaceos, operculis eboreis* legaffe dicitur^r.

S E C T. II.

SEcunda figura, ex ære conflata, Tibicinis speciem quandam singularem, atque ex omnibus, quas vidi, Tibicinum Imagunculis, unicam plane, præ se fert. Qui hujusmodi Tibiis canebant, vel græco nomine Ascaulai, vel Utricularii, a scriptoribus Romanis vocantur^r. Has autem Tibias, etsi raro admodum a veteribus memoratas, quippe quæ plebeculæ potissimum in pretio fuerint, antiquissimas tamen esse, Cæsarumque saltem temporibus, ad ludos et convivia adhiberi solitas accepimus. Quippe Nero, ut Suetonius scribit, cum Muscorum genus omne, in sua quemque arte ac instrumento, cantando superare studeret, *sub exitu vitæ palam voverat, se, ludis publicis, proditurum etiam Utricularium*"

Tibicinis nostri os, persona scenica tectum, vestitusque mimicus, haud artis suæ proprius, sed ad risum jocumque plane

^r Vid. Fabrett. Inscript. p. 206.

^r Vid. Gruter. p. 174. 7.

^r Martial. l. x. 3. Utriculi, sive Tibiæ Utricularis figuras et Pignorius et Montfauconius ediderunt: sed Tibicinis Utricularii Imagunculam, neque in rerum antiquarum collectionibus recensitam, neque in libris unquam descriptam animadverti. Vid. Pign. de Servis. p. 82. Montf. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 8. c. 2.

^r Suet. Ner. c. 54. Infcriptionem antiquam L. IVLIO SECUNDO VTRI-

CULARIO dicatam apud Gutherium legimus: de Jur. Manium. l. 2. c. 12.] Atque apud Gruterum, de VTRICULARIORVM etiam Corporibus seu Collegiis, in Colonia constituti, Infcriptiones quædam extant, quæ tamen non ad Tibicinum nostrorum gregem, sed ad Nautarum seu Piscatorum genus quoddam referendæ sunt, quorum lintres seu naviculæ, Utriculi etiam vocabantur. [Vid. Grut. p. 547, 549. 448.]

accommodatus, hominem ex illo γελωτοποιῶν Ludionum, Morionumve grege fuisse ostendit, qui ad hilaritatem in conviviiis excitandam a divitibus adhiberi solebant. Luxus hujus originem Livius ab Asia devicta deducit; *tunc Pſaltriæ, inquit, Sambucistriæque et convivalia Ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis*^v. De quibus epularum oblectamentis, exstat Epistola quædam Plinii ad Genitorem suum, quæ ab argumento nostro haud aliena videtur.

“ Accepi tuas litteras, quibus quereris, tædio tibi fuisse
 “ quamvis lautissimam cœnam, quia Scurræ, Cinædi, Morio-
 “ nes mensis inerrabant. Vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis?
 “ Equidem nihil tale habeo, habentes tamen fero. Cur ergo
 “ non habeo? quia nequaquam me ut inexpectatum festivum-
 “ ve delectat, si quid molle a Cinædo, petulans a Scurra,
 “ stultum a Morione profertur. Non rationem sed stomachum
 “ tibi narro. Atque adeo quam multos putas esse, quos æque
 “ ea, quibus ego et tu capimur et ducimur, partim ut inepta,
 “ partim ut molestissima offendant? quam multi, cum lector,
 “ aut lyristes, aut Comædus inductus est, calceos poscunt,
 “ aut non minori cum tædio recubant, quam tu ista, (sic
 “ enim appellas) prodigia perpeffus es? Demus igitur alienis
 “ oblectationibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus. Vale^x.”

Alexander Severus, ut a Lampridio scriptum legimus, *Nanos et Nanas, et Moriones et Vocales exoletos, et omnia acroamata et Pantomimos, quæ Eliogabali ad mensam ministeria fuissent, populo donavit*^y. Martialis autem Morionem quendam describens, *acuto capite, auribusque longis*, ad hanc Tibicinis nostri figuram fere alludere videtur.

^v Lib. 39. c. 6.^x Epist. l. 9. 17.^y In Alex. Sev. c. 34.

*Hunc vero acuto capite, et auribus longis,
Quæ sic moventur, ut solent Afellorum,
Quis Morionis filium neget Gyrthæ?*

In hac autem γελωτοποιῶν classe, de Mimaulis etiam mentionem factam animadverti: quo nomine mimorum genus quoddam denotari videtur, qui vel ad tibiam gestus agere, vel tibia simul canere et gesticulari solebant: atque de hoc genere figuras quasdam Scenicas, fistula canentes, et gestu simul ridiculo saltantes, in marmoribus interdum antiquis, exsculptas invenimus¹.

Hoc denique Ludionum genus omne, quo partes suas, in conviviis, ludisque publicis, commodius ageret, salesque et dicteria in vulgus liberius spargeret, personæ cooperimento tectum prodiisse constat. Permultas fane personarum harum figuras, e veterum monumentis desumptas, a viris eruditis in lucem editas videmus; quarum pleræque eadem plane forma, ac Utricularii nostri persona, esse apparent: qualesque a Varrone et Luciano, *Personæ istæ antiquæ* describuntur; *disortis scilicet oribus deformes, ac immane quiddam biantes, quasi spectatores devoraturæ*²: atque hinc infantibus eas puerulisque terrori semper fuisse legimus.

*Cum personæ pallentis biatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans.*

S E C T. III.

Tertia ista, ex ære itidem Imaguncula, servi ad mensam ministrantis, seu Pocillatoris antiqui effigiem exhibet;

¹ Epig. l. 6. 39.

² Varr. de lign. lat. l. 6. it. Lucian.

³ Vid. Dempster. Etrur. Antiq. T. 1. Dial. de Saltatione.

P. 413.

⁴ Juvenc. Sat. 3. 175.

eo prorsus habitu, quo Servuli divitum Triclinarii, cum a scriptoribus descripti, tum in marmoribus ficti reperiuntur. Pueri scilicet formosi et delicatuli, pulchre calamistrati, tunicisque nitidis, ad genus usque succincti.

ut omnes

Præcincti recte pueri, comptique ministrent^d.

Immanem nempe Romanorum veterum luxum, in servorum istiusmodi numero ac delectu, scriptores fere omnes commemorant, ac nonnulli graviter reprehendunt. Apuleius cœnam Fotidis describens, “Diribitores, inquit, plusculi, splendide
“amiæti, fercula copiosa, puellæ scitulæ ministrantes; pueri
“calamistrati, pulchre indusiati, gemmas formatas in pocula
“vini vetusti frequenter offerentes^e. Convivia mehercule
“horum, inquit Seneca, non posuerim inter vacantia tem-
“pora, cum videam quam solliciti argentum ordinent; quam
“diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas succingant;——
“Quanta celeritate, signo dato, glabri ad ministeria discun-
“rant^f.” Alio etiam loco, “Quæris, inquit, quam paribus
ministeriis et levibus afferatur cibus?——ambitiosa non est
“fames——et si pertinere ad te judicas, quam crinitus puer,
“et quam perlucidum tibi poculum porrigat, non sitis^g.”

Philo vero Judæus, dum in mollem istum ac delicatulum servorum, in Tricliniis ministrantium, gregem invenitur, hunc ipsum Pocillatoris nostri ornatum depingere pæne videtur.
“Adiunt, inquit, Servi ministrantes, pulcherrimi illi quidem
“et formosissimi; quasi non tam ministrandi, quam convivas
“aspectu suo delectandi gratia, adhibiti. Ex his minores

^d Hor. Sat. l. 2. 8. v. 70.

Astabat Domini mensis pulcherrimus ille

Marmoræa fundens nigra Faleria manu.

Martial. l. 8. 56.

^e Metamorph. l. 2. p. 52.

^f Sen. de Brev. Vit. c. 12.

^g Id. Epist. 119.

" natu pueri vinum fundunt, majores aquam afferunt; loti,
 " glabrique, vultu fucato, capillisque in cincinnulos eleganter
 " plexis. Comam enim alunt, vel omnino intonsi, vel a
 " fronte tantum præfectis in orbem crinibus. Tenuissimas,
 " candidasque præcincti tunicas, anteriore parte ad genua
 " demissas, posteriore aliquantulum infra poplites, utramque
 " partem tæniis duplicatis, secundum commissuras tunicae,
 " adstringentes: sinus ex lateribus in altum tollentes seu venti-
 " lantes, ac tunicae latera dilatantes ad munera attenti convivas
 " observant. Adsunt etiam alii adolescentes, vix prima lanu-
 " gine efflorescentes, amatorum nuper suorum deliciae, atque
 " ad ministeria graviora diligenter admodum exercitati: Domi-
 " norum opulentiae, uti illi quidem, qui eis utuntur, existi-
 " mant, ut vero sese res habet, stultitiae ostentatio^b.

Ex hoc Servorum grege, Pueros Alexandrinos, Romanis
 omnium maxime in deliciis fuisse constat. Quippe qui natura
 dicaces, jocisque et salibus dediti erant, artibusque etiam istis,
 quibus convivae inter coenandum delectari solent, cantandi
 praesertim et saltandi plerumque instructi. " Tandem ergo
 " discubuimus, inquit Petronius, pueris Alexandrinis aquam
 " in manus nivatam infudentibus, aliisque insequentibus ad
 " pedes; ac paronychia cum ingenti subtilitate tollentibus.
 " Ac ne in hoc quidem tam molesto tacebant officio, sed obiter
 " cantabantⁱ, &c."

Horum puerorum Mercator quidam celebris, Augusti aetate,
 Thoranius floruit, Imperatori ipsi familiaris^k: de quo Plinius

^b Phil. de Vit. Contemplat. Oper. Vol. 2. p. 479. Edit. Londini.

ⁱ Petron. Arbit. p. 96. it. p. 121. De mancipiis, hisce item Statius, [Silv. l. 5. 5. — v. 66.]

Non ego mercatus Pharia de puppe loquaces

VOL. IV.

Delicias, do summe sui convivicia Nili

*Infantem, linguaque simul, salibusque prae-
tervum.*

^k Adultas aetate virgines denudarent et perspicerent, tanquam Thoranio Mangone vendente. Sueton. Aug. c. 69.

hanc historiolum narrat; "Thoranium, inquit, M. Antonio
 " jam Triumviro, eximios forma pueros, alterum in Asia
 " genitum, alterum trans Alpes, ut geminos vendidit; tanta
 " unitas erat. Postquam deinde, sermone puerorum detecta
 " fraude, a furente increpitus Antonio est; inter alia magni-
 " tudinem pretii conquerenti (nam ducentis mercatus erat
 " sestertiis) respondit versutus ingenii Mango, ob id ipsum se
 " tandi vendidisse; quoniam non esset mira similitudo in ullis
 " eodem utero editis; diversarum quidem gentium natales
 " tam concordi figura reperiri, super omnem esse taxatio-
 " nem¹." Alius ejusdem Thoranii locus in Augustum ipsum
 illudentis, a Macrobio traditur. "Augustus nimirum delec-
 " tatus inter cœnam Symphoniacis Thoranii, frumento eos
 " donaverat; cum in alia acroamata^m nummis fuisset libe-
 " ralis: eosdem igitur postea quærenti inter cœnam Cæsari,
 " Thoranium sic excusavit; *ad molam sunt*."ⁿ

Pocillator noster altera manu lancem, altera poculum in
 effigiem cornu formatum tenet, cujus ima tamen pars in ani-
 malis cujusdam speciem definit. Etenim pocula, ab antiquis-
 simis temporibus, ex animalium cornibus affecta esse legimus:
 cujus quidem generis nonnulla etiam hodie in curiosorum arma-
 riis reperiuntur: neque alia omnino, Pocillares hoscæ, quorum
 Imagunculas mihi videre contigit, manibus unquam tenuisse ani-
 madverti^o. Hinc Bacchus ipse ab antiquis corniger finge-
 batur; non, ut Festus ait, quod homines nimio vino truces fiant; sed,

¹ Hist. N. l. 7. c. 12.

^m Acroama, vox græca est, latinitate
 donata, quæ lepidi aut festivi aliquid,
 quod in conviviis recitari aut cantari sole-
 bat; significat; nec non homines inter-
 dum ipsos qui recitabant, cantabantve:
 hinc Nepos in vitâ Attici, *Nemo*, inquit,

*in convivio ejus aliud acroama audivit, quam
 anagnosce.*

ⁿ Macrobi. Sat. 2. c. 4.

^o Vid. Montf. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 3.
 c. 2. it. Mus. Etrusc. p. 190, 196. it. Cau-
 sari Mus. Roman. p. 67. Fig. 39. it.
 Pignor. de Servis. p. 68.

ut Athenæus, quod e cornibus bibere solerent^p. Quem quidem bibendi morem, apud Græcos obtinuisse ex Xenophonte discimus, qui se sociosque suos ab expeditione Persica reverbos apud *Paphlagonas, Thracesque vinum e cornibus largiter bibisse*, commemorat^q. Philippus item Macedo, cum benigne aliquos excipere vellet, e cornu illis propinasse fertur. Sed poculorum horum labra, argento aurove plerumque cooperta, ac cornua item ipsa ex argento interdum solido conflata esse dicuntur: quorum fabricam usumque Athenæus, qui M. Aurelii temporibus floruit, usque ad suam ætatem mansisse, scribit^r.

Quod cornua vero a Romanis pariter ac Græcis ad bibendum adhibita fuerint, in conviviiis præsertim eis, quibus hilarius epulari, largiusque bibere propositum esset, ex his ipsis Pocillatorum Icunculis, quæ magno sane numero adhuc extant, perspicuum est. Sanctus Ambrosius, de seculi sui ebriofitate querens, militumque præcipue computationes temulentas describens, “Cornu, inquit, in medio, vini plenum: non
“ præliaris sed epularis instrumentum buccinæ, quod discumbentes in certamen accendat—primum minoribus poculis
“ præluditur—ubi res calere cœpit, poscunt majoribus poculis—mensura proponitur, certatur sub iudice, sub lege
“ decernitur^s.” Atque alio deinde loco, “Hos, homines, an
“ utres verius æstimaverim?—per cornua etiam fluentia in
“ fauces hominum vina decurrunt, et si quis respiraverit, commissum flagitium, soluta acies, loco motus habetur^t.”

^p—*Accedant capiti cornua, Bacchus eris.*
—[Ov. Ep. Sapph. ad Phaon.] vid. Fest. in voce Cornua. it. Athen. Deipnos. l. xi. p. 476. Hinc *κεράσαι*, vinum scilicet in cornu miscere, et *κρατήρ*, quasi *κεράτῃρ*, originem duxisse putantur.

^q Xenoph. in Expedit. Cyri. l. 6. p. 414. & l. 7. p. 550. Edit. Oxon.

^r Vid. Athenæum. ibid. Hieron. Mercurialis, animalium cornua a veteribus propterea bibendum usurpata esse existimat, quod contra venenum vim quandam habuisse crederentur—De Venen. l. 1. 17. it. Var. lect. 1. 24.

^s Ambros. de Elia et Jejun. c. 13.

^t Ibid. c. 17.

T A B U L A IX.

Poculum igitur ejusmodi, quod Pocillator noster dextra in altum sublata tenet, ad veterem istum bibendi morem alludere, poculorumque eorum genus indicare, quod ad Symposia potissimum exhilaranda, convivasque inebriandos, tanquam cumuli loco adhiberi solebat: quumque lex ea data erat, quam Cicero commemorat, ut aut biberent aut discederent^u.

T A B U L A X.

AVIS imaginem perpulchram, atque opere antiquo ex ære fictam, Tabula hæc delincatam exhibet: quæ in basi itidem itidem ænea, five ara potius, quasi ad cultum quendam divinum consecrata, insitit: quam quidem aram, ex nonnullis auri particulis in superficie ejus adhuc restantibus, deauratam olim fuisse, constat. Imago vero ipsa, Ibis, opinor, Ægyptiæ germanam figuram indicat: quam tamen a diversis auctoribus, diversa interdum forma descriptam animadverti.

Cicero eam, *avem excelsam* esse ait, *cruribus rigidis, corneo proceroque rostro*^w; Strabo, *forma et mole corporis, Ciconiæ persimilem*^x. Atque ex horum testimoniis, generatim enuntiatis, scriptores nonnulli, atque illi quidem eruditissimi, Ciconiæ eam vel Grui prorsus similem depingunt; rostro scilicet oblongo, neque incurvato; et capite glabro, neque cirro ullo aut crista ornato^y. At vero Herodotus, qui avem ipsam in Ægypto sæpissime viderat,

^u In Verr. l. 1. Verres, ut Cicero ait, cui populi Romani legibus nunquam parum, tamen legibus eis, quæ in poculis ponebantur, diligenter parebat. Has bibendi leges Plinius enumerat, atque inter alias, *optima fide non respirasse in hauriendo, neque expuiss;* nihilque ad elidendum in facimentum sonum ex vino reliquisse. Hist. N.

l. 14. c. 22.

^w De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 210. Edit. Lamb.

^x L. 17. p. 1179. B. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

^y Pignorius. Meus. Isaac, p. 76. Fig. 29. Kircher. Obelisc. Pamph. l. 2. p. 130.

crura ei sane gruina, at rostrum maxima ex parte aduncum tribuit². Plinius etiam *rostri ejus aduncitatem*, præcipue commemorat³: atque in obelisko deinde Pamphilio, a Caracalla olim ex Ægypto Romam traducto, hanc avem capite aliquoties cirrato, insculptam cernimus^b. Quæ sane omnia figuram nostram, uti dixi, ad Ibim plane referendam esse ostendunt.

Duas autem Ibium species in Ægypto fuisse, traditur^c: unam, partim albam, partimque nigram; alteram penitus nigram: atque hanc cum serpentibus præcipue bellum gessisse ac magno propterea in honore fuisse accepimus. “Fama est, inquit Herodotus, serpentes quosdam alatos, vere ineunte, ex Arabia in Ægyptum versus volare, Ibes vero ad ingressum eis occurrentes, aditu prohibere, omnesque interimere^d. Ipsi inquit Cicero qui irridentur Ægyptii nullam belluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ab ea caperent, consecraverunt. Ibes maximam vim serpentum conficiunt; avertunt pestem ab Ægypto, cum volucres angues, ex vastitate Libyæ vento Africo invecas, interficiunt, atque consumunt^e.” Hoc idem a Plinio quoque confirmatur; qui contra *serpentum horum adventum, Ægyptios Ibes suas*, tanquam numina quædam, *invocare solitos* declarat^f.

At vero non ob Serpentes modo consumptos, sed ob alia etiam, et majora illa quidem beneficia, Ibim divinis honoribus cultam legimus. Quippe Mercurius, corpore ejus vestitus, Ægyptum peragrassè, artiumque variarum inventionem docuisse dicitur^g. Hinc litterarum quarundam formæ ab alitis hujus mem-

² Σκίλεα δὲ φορέει γράναυ, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς ταμάλισα ἐπίγρυπον. lib. 2. p. 118. Edit. Lond.

³ Hist. N. l. 8. c. 27.

^b Vid. Obelisc. Pamphil. a Kirchero delineat. p. 499.

^c Herod. ibid. Aristot. Hist. Animal. l.

9. c. 27. Plin. l. x. c. 30. *Ibis circa Pelusium nigra est, ceteris locis omnibus candida* —quod ab Aristotele Plinius transtulit.

^d Herod. ib. p. 117.

^e De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 210.

^f l. x. c. 28.

^g Vid. Kircher. Obel. Pam. p. 234.

bris ac gestibus deductæ esse, hominesque clysteris præsertim usum ab ea primum didicisse, feruntur. Nam cum Ægyptii, ut Plutarchus ait, “ Ibim, aquam marinam in alvum per rostrum injicere, et sese purgare viderint, idem illi quoque “ facere didicerunt: Sacerdotes etiam, cum sese lustrarent, ea “ semper aqua utebantur, e qua Ibes bibere solebant, quia “ nullam unquam insalubrem noxiamve illæ adire visæ sunt^h.”

Ob hæc, inquam, beneficia Ibis, una cum ceteris Ægypti animalibus, consecrata fuit. Nam cum “ Ægyptus, ut Hero- “ dotus tradit, bestiis non multum abundaret, omnes in ea “ repertæ, legibus sacræ constituebantur. His igitur bestiis, “ qui in urbibus præcipue degebant, vota facere, atque ali- “ menta præbere solebant; et siquam earum aliquis volens “ necaverat, morte mulctabatur; sin nolens, ea poena, quam “ Sacerdotes juberent: quisquis vero Ibim aut accipitrem, “ siue volens, siue nolens interfecisset, cum morte puniri necesse “ eratⁱ.”

Hanc Ægyptiorum superstitionem, tanquam mirabile quod- “ dam insanix ac vecordix indicium, Cicero sæpenumero com- “ memorat. “ Ægyptiorum morem quis ignorat? inquit, quo- “ rum imbutæ mentes pravitate erroribus, quamvis carnifici- “ nam prius subirent, quam Ibim aut Aspidem, aut Felem, “ aut Canem, aut Crocodilum violent. Quorum etiam si “ imprudentes quidpiam fecerint, poenam nullam recusent^k.” “ Atque alio loco: “ at vero ne fando quidem auditum est, “ Crocodilum, aut Ibim, aut Felem violatam ab Ægyptio^l.”

^h De Solert. Animal. p. 974. C. Hoc idem etiam Cicero indicat, ubi *alvo se Ibes Ægyptias curasse*, dicit. [Nat. Deor. l. 2. p. 233.] Plinius autem apertius, *simile quidam, inquit, et volucris in eadem Ægypto monstravit, quæ vocatur Ibis; rostri aduncitate per eam partem se perluens, qua reddit*

ciborum onera maxime salubre est. [l. 8. c. 27.] Vid. Ælian. de Nat. Animal. l. 2. c. 35. & l. 7. 45.

ⁱ Herod. l. 2. p. 115.

^k Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. p. 189.

^l Nat. D. l. 1. p. 207.

Ibes igitur, cum tanta religione in Ægypto cultæ, ac publice altæ essent, cumque humano quasi convictu atque urbibus fruerentur, cicures demum, mansuetasque fieri necesse erat: neque mirum ideo illud videri debet, quod a Strabone memoriæ proditum est; eas nempe in “Alexandriæ, Urbis refertissimæ, “vicis trivisque tam frequentes reperiri, ut molestiam pariter “ac utilitatem civibus darent: utilitatem, quia et serpentes, et “macellorum etiam fordes omnes devorabant; molestiam vero, “quæ omnivoræ atque immundæ, neque a mundis alienisque “contaminandis facile prohibendæ erant^m.”

Alia sane permulta de Ibe tradita reperio, at nimis illa quidem fabulosa, quam ut fidem ullam mereri videantur. Illud tamen haud prætereundum, quod ab Æliano scriptum legimus; hanc avem Ægypti propriam esse, neque *extra ejus fines unquam exvolasse; et si ab aliquo inde exportata esset, sibi ipsi mortem semper fame conscivisse*ⁿ.

Jam vero si quærat quispiam, quam demum ob causam, usumve hæc nostra figura ficta olim fuerit; ab Ægyptio sane aliquo Romæ degente, vel a Romano fortasse, Ægyptiorum superstitioni ritibusque addicto, eam olim comparatam esse conjicerem, ut in Larario suo, inter Deos cubiculares colendam poneret. Nam ad cultum quendam religiosum et domesticum eam consecratam esse, basis ejus, uti dixi, deaurata indicare videtur: atque hanc adco Ibis nostræ effigiem, perinde ac alia ista Ægypti portenta, in quæ Juvenalis invehitur, auream olim stetisse verisimile est.

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens

Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat

^m Strab. l. 17. p. 1179.

ⁿ Hist. Animal. l. 2. c. 38. Hinc in Numismatibus antiquis, Hadriani præsertim Imperatoris, Ibim sæpe, tanquam

Ægypti ipsius symbolum insculptum videmus. Vid. Vaill. et Havercampt. in Hadr. Numis.

T A B U L A X

*Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibim.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci^o.*

T A B U L A XI.

Æ Sculapii et Telesphori imagines, e marmore fictas, ac quales in numismatibus, monumentisque antiquis sæpe exhibentur, sibi invicem hic adjunctas, cernimus. Æsculapius, medicinæ Deus, tanquam humani generis servator, salutisque dator, a veteribus invocatus erat^p. Vultu ille quidem senili, Jovique simillimus depingitur, neque ab eo fere, nisi symbolorum diversitate, dignoscendus. Minucius eum bene barbatum vocat, Apollinis *licet semper adolescentis filium*^q. Atque hinc vafer iste Syracusarum Tyrannus, ut a Cicerone scriptum legimus, *barbam ejus auream, de templis demi jussit*. neque enim convenire, barbatum esse filium, cum in omnibus fanis, Pater imberbis esset^r.

Hoc fere amictu semper indutus fingitur; pallio nimirum talari, at in sinus ita collecto, atque in humerum lævum injecto, ut pectus, brachiumque item dextrum nudum appareat, Atque hunc amictum viri docti eundem esse credunt, ac quem Poetæ veteres *Pæonium* appellant, medicisque quasi proprium attribuunt.

— — — *Ille retorto*

*Pæonium in morem senior succinctus amictu,
Multa manu medica, Phœbique potentibus herbis*

^o Sat. 15. 1.

^p Æsculapius iste, quem prædicatis, Deus præstans, Sanctus Deus, salutis dator, Valetudinum pessimarum Propulsator, &c. Arnob. con. Gent. l. 7. juxt. fin.

In Numismat. Antonini Pii, ΚΩΤΗΠΙ

ΑΚΚΑΗΠΠΙΩ. Sevatori Æsculapio. it. in nummis Coorum. &c. Vid. Spanheim. 217. it. Gruter. Inscript. p. 68, 69, &c.

^q Octav. p. 180. Edit. Varr.

^r De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

Nequicquam trepidat^f.—

— — — *ritu se cingit uterque*

Pæonio^f.—

Brachium autem Dei pectusque nudum, fidem eam atque integritatem, dextramque ad opem usque ferendam paratam denotant, quibus medicorum maxime laus continetur.

— *Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis*

, *Excitat*^u. — — —

Quinetiam in numismatibus, marmoribusque antiquis, Dei hujus signa, in baculum a serpente circumplicatum innixa fere omnia videmus. *Diceret*, inquit Apuleius, *Dei medici baculo, quod ramulis semiampulatis nodosum gerit, serpentem generosum lubricis amplexibus inhærere*^w. Atque hoc idem baculum, casu licet aliquo jam abruptum, ad nostram tamen imaginem adjunctum olim esse liquet; cujus altera extremitas in foramen, quod in basi marmorea adhuc vacuum restat, inserta fuisset; altera vero inter brachium imaginis latusque dextrum, ad axillam usque pertinuisset. Nonnulli serpentem, qui pelle vetusta deposita novam quotannis induit, tanquam sanitatis et juventutis symbolum, Æsculapio tributum existimant; quo Dei hujus ope, homines morbis levare ac juventuti quodammodo restitui, significaretur^x. Plinius autem serpentem, Æsculapio idcirco dicatum esse scribit, *quia multa ei remedia inesse credebantur*^y. Quod a Statio item indicari videtur,

^f Virg. Æn. 12. 400.

^f Stat. Sylv. 1. 4. 107.

Intortos de more accinctus amictus.

Sil. Ital. 1. 5.

^u Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 3. 147.

Corporis auxilium medico comitte fideli.

in Dist. Caton. adscript.

Cicero item de Æsculapione medico, mihi inquit, tum ipsa scientia, tum fidelitate

—satisfecit Ep. Fam. 13. 20.

^w Metam. 1. 1. juxt. init.

^x *Anguibz exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas.* Ov. Art. Am. 3. 78. "Οτι καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀποδύει τὸ γῆρας ἕως ἢ ἱατρικῇ τῶν νοσῶν ἐλευθεροῖ. Theodoret. Scrm. 8. de Martyr. Vol. 4. p. 596.

^y Hist. N. 1. 29. 4.

————— ————— *Maximus agris*

Auxiliator adest, et festinantia sistens

Fata; salutifero mitis Deus incubat angui^a.

At vero Æsculapium ipsum sub serpentis olim specie cultum esse, et sub ea formam Romam, circa annum Urbis cccclxii, cum pestilentia gravi urbs laboraret, Epidauro primum advectum accepimus; neque citius ad urbem accessisse, quam de navi sponte dilapsum, in insulam Tyberinam transnavisse, ac pestilentiam, cujus causa quæsitus fuerat, restinxisse^a.

Scinditur in geminas partes circumfluis amnis.

Insula nomen habet—————

Huc se de Latia pinu Phœbeius anguis

Contulit^b————— —————

Hinc Ædes illi statim magna religione in Insula consecrata est: atque Insula deinceps ipsa in navis formam redacta: qualem eam interdum in urbis antiquæ tabulis delineatam cernimus^c. Attamen Dei ipsius simulacra, cum e marmore ficta, tum coloribus picta, non serpentis postea specie, sed eo plane habitu, quem supra diximus, in Templis passim dicari cœperunt^d.

In his Æsculapii fanis, ægroti cubare, ac somniorum ab eo immittorū monitu, morborum suorum remedia perdiscere solebant^e: quod monumenta fane permulta, ob morbos ejus ope levatos, ei publice dicata, atque hodie etiam extantia, tet-

^a Stat. Sylv. 3. iv. 23.

^b Val. Max. 1. 8. Hinc serpentis adventus in Numismate Antonini Pii pulchre descriptus cernitur apud Montfauconium. Suppl. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 1. Tab. 26.

^c Ovid. Metam. 1. 15. 739.

^d Vid. Jac. Laur. Antiq. Urb. Splend. p. 31. Marlian. Urb. Topogr. l. 5. p. 107.

^e Plin. Hist. 1. 34. 8. 35. xi.

^f An Æsculapius potest præscribere per somnium curationem valetudinis, Neptunus Gubernantibus non potest? Cic. de Div. 2.

Ὅτως ἐν Ἀττικῇ μὲν τὰ νοσήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνείκοις παύσαι

Jamblich. de Myter. § 2. c. 3.

tantur^f. Hinc Tempa ejus donis referta legimus, quæ *remediorum salutarium mercedem*, ut Livius ait, *ægrî sacraverant Deo*^g. Atque ex *his somniis, visisque nocturnis*, diuturno usu atque observatione comprobatis, *artem ipsam Medicam* constitutam esse, Jamblichus declarat^h. Quippe ægrorum, Dei hujus ope sanatorum, nomina et morbi et curationis ratio, in Tabulis marmoreis a sacerdotibus descripta atque in Templis ejus suspenſa erant: quarum quidem tabularum fragmentum quoddam memorabile, in Insula ipsa Tyberina repertum, Gruterus edidit; in quo cæcis duobus, curatione quadam a Deo præscripta, *visum redditum esse, populo inspeſtante ac gratulante*, significaturⁱ. Hæc autem remedia, in Templo Dei, conspeſtui omnium proposita, Hippocrates ipse, ut Plinius ait, *exscripsisse traditur, et Templo jam cremato, instituisse medicinam eam, quæ Clinice vocatur*^k.

In hanc igitur Æſculapii Insulam, Romani mancipia sua ægra, morbisque affecta exponere, atque omni alia ope destituta, Dei tutelæ committere consueverunt; donec Claudius Imperator, quo tam immanem dominorum erga servos crudelitatem cohiberet, edicto sanxit, “ ut omnes qui exponerentur, “ liberi essent, nec redirent in ditionem domini, si convaluissent: et si quis necare quem mallet, quam exponere, is cædis crimine teneretur^l.”

Attamen Æſculapium, non ægros profecto quoslibet, sed dignos tantum probosque sanasse, scelestis vero, neque somnia, neque opem omnino ullam dedisse, legimus^m: quod quidem

^f Gruter Inscript. p. 68. &c.

^g Lib. 45. 28. Consul Apollini. Æſculapio—dona vovete, et dare signa inaurata jussus. Id. lib. 46. 37.

^h Jamblich. Ibid.

ⁱ Gruter. p. 71. Ex hac Tabula, ut Mentsauconius ait, vel Dæmonum in morbis insigendis ac pellendis potestatem, vel

Sacerdotum Gentilium fraudes ac præstigias colligere licet. Vid. Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 1. l. 4. c. 6.

^k Hist. N. l. 29. c. 1.

^l Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

^m Exempla hujus rei varia a Philostrato commemorantur. lib. 1. c. 9. x.

illi, cum a Christianis, tum a Gentilibus interdum ipsis exprobatum est: etenim Arnobius, Christianorum more, cultum ejus irridens, *cum medendi*, inquit, *artibus præsit, cur plurima morborum ac valetudinum genera ad sanitatem perducere nequeunt*? Ac Leno etiam quidam apud Plautum, qui in fano ejus ægro-tus cubaverat, ita demum querens egreditur.

*Migrare certum est, jam nunc e fano foras,
Quando Æsculapi ita sentio sententiam,
Ut qui me nibili faciat, nec salvum velit:
Valetudo decrescit, accrescit labor^o.*

Telephorus denique, qui Æsculapio, ut supra dixi, comes persæpe adjungitur, convalescentium Deus habitus est; cujus munus proprium erat, ut nomen ejus indicat, morbis jam liberatos et convalescentes, ad perfectam sanitatem perducere. Hunc autem a Nicæensibus potissimum et Pergamenis, una cum Æsculapio, tanquam Deum Tutelarem, cultum, accepimus; ab aliis vero quibusdam civitatibus, Evemeriona et Ace-sium dictum. Forma ille semper puerili, ac pallio penitus coopertus fingitur; cui cucullus etiam plerumque annexus est, quo caput ejus omne, facie tantum excepta tegitur^p: atque sub hac eum specie, in monumentis nummisque antiquis sæpissime exhibitum, et Æsculapio adjunctum videmus^q. Forma autem ejus puerilis, palliumque penitus clausum, infirmum istum

^p Con. Gent. 1. 4. circa med.

^o Curcul. Aët. 2. Scen. 1.

^p In nostra tamen Telephori imagine, quod in aliis ejus figuris haud unquam animadverti, cucullus iste de capite prorsus in humeros reiectus est.

^q In Numismate quodam Antonini Pii, Nicææ percussio, græce inscriptum legimus, Deo Telephoro Nicæensium. [Morell.

Spec. p. 52.] in Numismate item L. Veri, eum rursus a Nicæensibus una cum Æsculapio exhibitum cernimus. Atque in Numismatibus item Commodi ac Caracallæ, a Pergamenis. Vid. Osservaz. sopr. alcun. Medaglion Antich. Da Buonarott. Tab. 4. 5. Tab. 6. 2. Tab. 7. 9. item de variis Telephori nominibus, vid. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 7.

debilemque convalescentium statum denotare; ac multa adhuc cautione opus eis esse, ad perfectam sanitatem recuperandam, significare videtur.

T A B U L A XII.

Figuram hanc æneam, quæ Apollinis, Bacchive speciem, at nullis Deorum illorum symbolis instructam, præ se ferre videtur, Antinoi effigiem esse existimo. Antinuum enim, Hadriani delicias, eximia forma adolescentem, e Bithynia oriundum, in Divorum numerum a Principe isto relatum cognovimus—"Antinuum suum, inquit Spartianus, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit; quem muliebriter flevit: de quo varia fama est: aliis, eum devotum pro Hadriano, asserentibus; aliis, quod et forma ejus ostendat, et nimia voluptas Hadriani: et Græci quidem, volente Hadriano, eum consecraverunt, oracula per eum dari asserentes; quæ Hadrianus ipse composuisse jactatur." Hadrianus certe Templum ei statim, statuasque dicari jussit; urbemque juxta eum locum, in quo mortuus est. Antinoi nomine instauravit¹. Hinc in Inscriptione quadam antiqua adhuc extante, Deorum Ægyptiorum Sunrhronus appellatur²: qui eosdem scilicet honores, cultumque apud gentem istam, ac ceteri eorum Dii, obtinuerat.

At non in Ægypto tantum, sed per totum fere terrarum orbem divinos Antinoo honores tributos esse legimus. Quippe cum Hadrianus Imperii Romani provincias peragraret, Civitates istæ omnes, in quibus commoratus est, inter sese quasi certasse feruntur, quænam Antinoi maxime cultum memoriam-

¹ Vid. Ælium. Spartian. in Hadr. c. 14.

² Dio. p. 793.

³ ---ANTINOΩΙ
CTNΘPONΩΙ TΩN

ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΝ
Μ. ΟΥΑΠΠΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ

Græc. p. 86. 1.

que celebrarent; Deorum sibi quæque priorum honores atque insignia ac formam etiam ei tribuentes; quibus cum quidem, in Civitatum istarum nummis, adhuc extantibus, instructum sæpe videmus".

Mantineæ autem, ut Pausanias tradit, præter Templum ei dicatum, initia etiam quædam anniversaria, ludosque quinquennales in honorem ejus instituit; domumque præterea in Gymnasio, et fictis, et pictis item ejus imaginibus egregie instruxit; quæ Bacchi potissimum insignibus ornatae erant^u.

Tarsus item, Ciliciæ Metropolis, in nummis suis, in honorem Antinoi percussis, Apollinis ei symbola, cum ipso Novi Pythii titulo, attribuit^x. Atque sub Apollinis maxime forma illum a plerisque civitatibus, cultum esse liquet. Cui quidem Deo, simulacra Antinoi omnia, quæ mihi videre contigit, quorumque plurima adhuc restant, et habitu corporis, et facie ipsa quam simillima apparent.

At vero infanum hunc Antinoi cultum, ab ortu licet tam infami profectum, non Hadriano solum vivente, sed, quod mirandum magis est, post mortem ejus diu floruisse, atque a Sanctis Ecclesiæ patribus, gentilibus sæpe exprobatum esse legimus. *Noctes Antinoi sacrae*, inquit Clemens, *etiam hodie ab hominibus celebrantur: quas is, qui cum puero vigilaverat, turpes esse cognovit. Quid mihi cum inter Deos refers, qui stupris honorem istum meruit?* Hieronymus etiam Hegesippum ita querentem inducit; "Tumulos mortuis, templaque fecerunt, sicut hodie usque

^u Vid. Vaillant. Selectior. Numism. Max. Mod. p. 19. it. Buonarotti Offert. sopra alcun. Medaglione. Tab. 2. p. 25.

^w Pausan. l. 8. c. 9. p. 617.

^x Vid. Buonarotti. ibid. p. 36. Nam ex omnibus antiquorum Deis, nonnisi hos duos eximia quadam oris venustate, per-

petuæque juventute insignitos legimus.

*Solis æterna est Phæbo, Bacchoque juventa,
Nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque Deum.*

Tibul. l. 1. 4.

—— *Tibi enim inconsumpta Juventus,
Tu puer æternus* ———

Ov. Met. l. 4. 17. de Baccho.

“ videmus: e quibus est et Antinous, servus Hadriani Cæsaris,
 “ cui et gymnicus agon exercetur Antinoius, Civitatemque ex
 “ ejus nomine condidit, et statuit Prophetas in templo¹. Pru-
 “ dentius denique in cultum ejus ita invehitur.”

Quid loquar Antinoum cœlesti sede locatum?

Illum delicias nunc Divi Principis; illum

Purpureo in gremio spoliatum sorte virili,

• Hadrianique Dei Ganymedem; non cyathos Diis

Porgere, sed medio recubantem cum Jove fulchro²?

Figuræ hujus basis opere item antiquo, atque egregio exsculpta est; at vero a Montfauconio dudum, e Museo Cardinalis Gualtieri descripta, ac Deæ Vestæ imagini adjuncta cernitur³. Quam quidem post mortem Cardinalis, a Vestæ Icuncula ista, casu nescio quo, sejunctam atque in Angliam advectam, ipse pretio emendam, atque ad Antinoi nostri effigiem accommodandam curavi. At neque Vestæ, uti Montfauconius existimabat, neque ulli omnino simulacro, eam basis olim vicem subuisse constat, sed lucernæ potius seu Candelabri imam partem fuisse; ut ex foramine quodam amplo ac rotundo colligere licet, quod in parte ejus superiore jam vacuum restat, nec nisi ad vasculi cujusdam stipitem truncumve excipiendum, paratum esse apparet⁴.

¹ Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 43. Edit. Oxon. et Hieron. de Viris Illustrib. in Hegeuppo. item Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 8.

² Con. Sym. l. 1. 271.

³ Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 5. Tab. 6. p. 38.

⁴ Fort. Licetus, basim quandam triangularem, insigni sculptura ornatam, neque huic nostræ simillimam exhibet, e qua columella quædam, cui lucernæ dux hinc

inde appense sunt in altum exsurgit: in apice vero cujusque anguli, ut Licetus ipse basim describens ait, Sphinges insident miræ tres; capite barbati Sileni, collo proflus humano, alis, ventre, caudæque draconis. Atque ad ejusmodi fortasse Candelabium lucernamve, basim itidem nostram adjunctam olim fuisse, conjicere licet. Vid. Licet. de Lucern. l. 6. c. 14. p. 667. it. Montfauc. Vol. 5. l. 2. c. 9. Tab. 44.

T A B U L A XIII.

Tripodis autem forma, quam basis nostra gerit, eam ad templorum usum aliquem pertinuisse ostendit; in quibus mensas, arulasque etiam tripodes consecrari cognovimus. Sed et sculptura etiam quiddam notatu dignum præbet. Monstrorum nempe species quædam singularis, neque alias fere visa, ex singulis ejus angulis exsculpta prominet; quæ, cetera quidem, sphingibus plane simillima sunt, nisi quod facies illis fœminea semper seu puellaris, nostris autem, virilis tributa est. At nescio equidem, an Sphinges etiam mares a Veteribus interdum fingi solerent: quod nonnulli sane, ex Philemonis loco quodam, ab Athenæo citato, indicari crediderunt; ubi homo quidam de Coquo suo, ænigmatice semper loquente, querens, se non Coquum sed Sphingem marem in domum suam introduxisse dicit^c.

Istud tamen utcunque fuerit, ego profecto, ex monstrorum nostrorum alis, mammis, pedibusque leoninis, quæ Sphingibus certe propria sunt, artificem nonnisi Sphingum imagines exhibere voluisse arbitror: quas quidem Veteres istos ante Temppla collocare, atque in Vasculis quoque sacris persæpe insculpere solitos cognovimus; quo res nimirum divinas mysticas esse, atque *ænigmatum involucris a profanis tegendas, significarent*^d.

T A B U L A XIII.

B Acchi Imagunculam æneam hic delineatam habemus; de cujus symbolis, muneribusque, cum a scriptoribus antiquis tantopere decantata, atque omnibus cognita sint, plura hoc loco differere, lectori certe fastidiosum esset.

Altera vero ista Icuncula, Hermarum forma, ex ære ficta, explanatione forsitan aliqua egere videatur; quippe cui nullam omnino similem, vel in libris descriptam, vel in Museis

^c Athen., l. 14. §. 22. p. 659.

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 664, 671. &c.
asser-

asservatam vidi. Calathus iste seu modius, quem capiti impositum gerit, Serapidis fere proprius habetur; neque alii cuivis Deo, nisi rarissime attributus: facies autem imberbis juvenilis, Phœbum potius, Bacchumve, quam Serapim præ se ferre videtur, qui barbatus plerumque, Jovique aut Æsculapio similis fingi solet^c. Cum vero Serapim Deorum fere omnium vicem Ægyptiis suis supplevisse, atque Apollinis potissimum, Solisve munera præstitisse constet^d, haud alienum censi potest, ut vultu ille quoque juvenili nonnunquam fingeretur; qualem illum quidem in lucernis veterum, gemmisque anularibus exhibitum animadverti^e.

At præter calathum, quo Serapis semper instructus est, radiis eum quoque, aureisve, quas vocant, Solis comis, ornatum aliquando videmus^b. Atqui figura item nostra diadema seu coronam gestat, punctis quibusdam, sed jam attritis distinctam, quæ radorum fortasse speciem olim exhibere potuissent: hoc autem utcunque fuerit, at calathus certe non nisi *fecunditatis atque abundantiae symbolum* esse intelligitur, quam Serapidis præcipue numen per terrarum orbem diffundere credebatur.

Principes Dei, inquit Varro, *sunt Cælum et Terra; iidem qui in Ægypto, Serapis et Isis*ⁱ. Serapidis autem cultus Romam nonnisi sero, et postremis Reipublicæ temporibus traductus esse

^c Vid. Dei hujus imagines a Montfauconio collectas. Antiqu. Vol. 2. Par. 2. l. 1. c. x. Tab. 40.—N. B. Inter Deos istos, qui Hermarum interdum forma fingi solebant, Sponius, Hermanubim, exhibuit. Hunc igitur nostrum quidni Hermeteserapim appellemus?

^f Alexandria—Serapim atque Isin cultu præne attonitæ venerationis observat; omnem tamen illam venerationem Soli se sub illius nomine testatur impendere, vel dum capiti ejus calathum insigunt &c. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 20—Serapim multi Æsculapium;

—quidam Osirim; plerique Jovem; plurimi Ditem Patrem. Tacit. Hist. l. 4. 84. it. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

^b Vid. Fort. Licet. De Antiquor. Lucern. l. 6. c. 13. p. 1178. Vid. it. Montfaucon. ib. & Gorlei Dailyloth. Tab. 30.

^d Vid. Montfaucon. ibid. et Chifflet. d. Gemmis Abraxeis. Tab. 26.

ⁱ De Ling. lat. l. 4. Si Dii sunt illos quos colimus, cur non in eodem genere Serapim, Isinque numeremus?—Cic. Nat. D. 3. 19.

apparet. Quumque Fana ejus nonnulla *privatim intra urbem exstructa esse*, indicatum esset, Senatus ea demoliri, nec nisi extra pomœrium ædificari, jussit^k: hinc meretrix quædam apud Catullum homines quosdam lecticarios sibi commodandos petit, qui ad Serapim eam deferrent^l: nam ad ædes extra pomœrium positas, iter mulieri sane longinquum fuerit, necesse est. Hæc autem sacra, quum intra urbem rursus grassari, atque aperte celebrari cœpissent, Agrippa urbis Præfectus repressit, et *ne quis in Suburbano etiam, intra quingentos passus, ea perageret, edicto vetuit*^m. Tiberius denique *ritus hosce Ægyptiacos*, una cum Judæis etiam, *penitus compescuisse*ⁿ dicitur.

Hactenus quidem Ægyptiorum Deos, Romanis nonnisi invidiosos, suspectosque esse videmus; sed haud magno deinceps temporis intervallo, intra urbem ipsam receptos, Templisque consecratos reperimus. De quorum numero Serapis Vespasiani potissimum auctoritate, Romanis commendatus esse videtur; qui Dei nimirum hujus ope ac monitu, *visum cæco cuidam Alexandriæ, pro concione palam restituisse fertur*^o. Atque hinc in filiorum ejus, Titi et Domitiani, nummis, Dei hujus effigiem, perinde ac in anulis antiquorum nonnullis, insculptum videmus^p: ad quem quidem morem Plinius, qui eadem ætate floruit, alludens, *Statuas Ægyptiorum numinum a viris quoque in digitis portari*, queritur^q.

Templum ejus in Circo deinde Flaminio positum, atque ab Imperatoribus ornatum^r, Serapimque ipsum, Dei magni Invic-

^k Dio. l. 40. p. 142. E.

^l Catul. Epigr. x.

^m Dio. l. 54. p. 525. B.

ⁿ Sueton. in Vit. c. 36.

^o Suet. in Vespas. c. 7. Cæci hujus, claudique etiam a Vespasiano fanati historiam Tacitus quidem fusius narrat; additque demum; *Utrumque, qui interfuerit*,

nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mentio pretium. Hist. l. 4. c. 81.

^p Mus. Rom. p. 105. it. Goriæ Dactyl.

^q l. 33. 3.

^r Isum et Serapium decenter ornavit. &c. Lamprid. de Alexand. Sev. c. 26.

tique nomine invocatum legimus; ut Inscriptiones permultæ, ob beneficia accepta, morbosque sanatos, ei dicatæ testantur¹. Hunc enim, perinde ac Æsculapium, tanquam Deum Medicum, Salutisque datorem, a Veteribus cultum esse liquet. “ Quid convenit, inquit Cicero, ægros a conjectore somniorum potius quam a Medico petere Medicinam? An Æsculapius, an Serapis potest præscribere per somnium curationem, valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest?” Varro etiam, Ciceronis æqualis, (quorum ætate, Serapim nondum in honore Romæ constitutum diximus) in cultum ejus illudens, hoc distichon composuit.

Hospes quid miras nummo curare Serapim?

Quid? quasi non curet tantidem Aristoteles.

Jam vero, quum hæ Deorum Imagunculæ, ex ære aut marmore factæ, et numero fere infinitæ, e Romanorum veterum suppellectile ad hæc usque tempora conservatæ sint; si quærat tandem aliquis, cuinam usui inservierint; et cur simulachra tam exilia tanto olim in numero ac pretio fuerint? Ratio sane facilis atque expedita est. In singulis nempe ædibus, nobilium præsertim ac divitum, Lararium fuit, seu Sacrarium quoddam domesticum, minutulis hisce statuis refertum; quibus sacra quædam privata aut gentilitia facere, thus adolere, cultumque prorsus divinum tribuere solebant. “ Apud Heium Mamertinum, “ ut Cicero scribit, sacrarium erat magna cum dignitate a “ majoribus traditum, perantiquum: in quo signa pulcherrima “ quatuor, summo artificio, summa nobilitate—unum Cupidinis e marmore, Praxitelis; alterum, Herculis egregie fac-

¹ Vid. Gruter. Inscript. Vol. 1. p. 84. s: 85. 3, 4, 8.—

² De Divinat. l. 2. 59.

³ In Eumenid. apud Non Marcell. de Propriet. Serapim. c. 7. 105. in voce miras, pto miraris.—

“ tum ex ære, Myronis opus: item ante hosce Deos erant
 “ arulæ, quæ sacrarii religionem significare possent. Erant
 “ ænea præterea signa duo, non maxima, sed eximia venustate,
 “ virginali habitu atque vestitu,—Canephoræ ipsæ vocabantur
 “ —quarum artificem Polycletum esse dicebant—hæc omnia
 “ signa ab Heio de Sacrario Verres abstulit.”

Quinetiam in cubiculis quoque, Deos hosce domesticos, Larefque interdum collocabant; et Cubiculares ideo appellabant. Atque hinc inter domûs Augustæ officia, servos, qui curæ Larium Cubiculi præfuere, commemoratos invenimus*: e qua quidem Deorum classe, “ Nero, ut Suetonius ait, Icuncula
 “ iam quandam puellarem, pro summo numine, trinis in die
 “ sacrificiis, coluit; volebatque credi, se monitione ejus futura
 “ prænoscere”. Galba quoque simulachrum Fortunæ æneum,
 “ cubitali majus, in parte ædium suarum consecrassè, ac men-
 “ struis supplicationibus, et pervigilio anniversario coluisse tra-
 “ ditur”. Atqui hæc eadem Fortuna, nonnisi ex auro postea ab Imperatoribus, in cubiculis suis consecrata erat; quam Antoninus, jam moriturus, ad M. Aurelium, successorem suum, transferri iussit. Neque hoc tamen a principibus solummodo, sed a Philosophis quoque factitatum legimus. Etenim Asclepiades quidam Cynicus, Juliani Imperatoris amicus, *argenteum quoddam Dææ Cælestis figmentum, quocunque ibat, secum efferre, accensisque cereis in cubicula venerari solitus fertur*^b.

* In Verr. 3. 2.

† Suet. in Domitian. 17. Ad harum autem imaginum cultum et custodiam, Collegium etiam seu sodalitium, Cæsarum temporibus institutum fuisse, Fabrettus docet, quod *Collegium magnum Larum et Imaginum*, in Inscriptionibus antiquis appellatur. [de Colum. Traj. p. 205.] in qua sum una, *Signum Libertatis restitutæ*, sub

Galba Imperatore, *Imaginum Domus Augustæ Cultoribus*, positum dicitur. Boissar. Tom. 5. p. 12.

‡ In Ner. c. 56.

§ Suet. in Galb. c. 4.

|| Vid. Capitol. in Antonin. P. c. 12. & M. Aurel. c. 7.

¶ Amm. Marcellin. l. 22. 13.

Inter Deos-hosce domesticos, defunctorum etiam quorundam imagines, qui virtutis, ingenii, aut rerum gestarum gloria floruisse, in cubiculis collocari, colique solitas cognovimus. Suetonius, se Augusti *Imagunculam æream Hadriano Imperatori dono dedisse scribit, quam Princeps iste inter cubiculares postea coluit*^c. Vitellius autem, quo Claudium adulando demereretur, *liberorum ejus, Narcissi et Pallantis, imagines inter Lares consecravit*^d, Sanctus Augustinus, *Marcellinam quandam, Carpocratis Heretici discipulam, imagines Jesu, et Pauli, et Homeri, et Pythagoræ, adorando incensumque ponendo, coluisse dicit*^e: neque aliter fere Alexander Severus, in Larario suo, et *Apollonium, et Christum, et Abraham et Orpheum et hujusmodi Deos habuisse* traditur^f.

At non domi solummodo, atque in Larariis, Imperatores olim simulacra ista colere, sed in itineribus etiam bellicisque expeditionibus secum efferre solebant. Etenim Herculis Iuncula quædam mensura haud pedali, Lyssippi opus, a Martiale et Statio celebratur, quod Alexandro magno, et Hannibali et Syllæ deinceps in bellis suis omnibus comes fuisset^g. At Syllam, Apollinis potius Imagunculam auream, Delphis ablatam, in sinu circumtulisse legimus; eamque in præliis suis, mili-

^c In Aug. c. 7.

^d Suet. in Vitell. c. 2.

^e De Hæresib. § 7.

^f Lamprid. in Alex. Serv. c. 29. Item Plinius Junior, de Titinio Capitone; *mirum est, inquit, qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catorum domi, ubi potest, habeat.* [Epist. l. 1. 17.] ita quoque Alexander Severus, *Virgilii imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro, in secundo Larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum.* &c. Lamprid. ib. c. 31.

^g —Non est fama recens, nec nostri gloria cæli

Nobile Lyssippi munus, opusque vides.

Hoc habuit numen Pellæi mensa Ty-
ranni,

Qui cito perdomito victor in orbe
jacet.

Hunc puer ad Lybicas juraverat Han-
nibal aras:

Jussit hic Syllam ponere regna
trucem.

Offensus avarie tumidis terroribus aulæ
Privatus gaudet nunc habitare lares.

Mart. Ep. l. 9. 44.

vid. item Stat. Sylv. 4. 6.

tumque in conspectu, *amplecti et orare solitum, ut promissa maturaret*^h.

Ex hoc igitur simulacrorum usu cultuque, quem jam exposui, haud mirum videri potest, quod tantus eorum numerus, ex urbis antiquæ ruinis erutus, atque ad hæc usque tempora conservatus sit; quum omnes fere et Principum et privatorum domos, tum ornatus, tum religionis potissimum causa, eis refertas esse constet.

S E C T. III.

IN Larariis autem istis, ædiumve privatarum facellis, arulæ semper quædam, ut supra dictum est, ante Imagunculas ipsas positæ fuere, in quibus thus odoresque Dîs Laribus incendere, dapesve interdum, pro more, apponere solebant. Itaque figuram Tabulæ hujus tertiam, antiquo opere ex ære conflata, ex arularum earum numero fuisse censeo. Basis enim ejus tripes, ad usum aliquem sacrum eam pertinuisse, indicat; vertexque rotundus ac concavus, ad nihil fere aliud, ac thuris pauxillum excipiendum, accommodatus esse apparet. Quod veteres autem, thure aut farre, aut vino, Laribus supplicare, coronasque interdum, festis diebus, offerre solerent, certissimum est.

*O parvi, nostrique Lares, quos thure minuto,
Aut farre, aut tenui soleo exornare corona*ⁱ.

^h Plutarch. in Vit. p. 471. B. it. Valer. Max. l. 1. c. 2. — J. Cæsar etiam, uti Dio tradit, *Venerem armatam, in anulo insculptam, gestabat, qua quidem, Tiberis loco, in maximis præliis uti solebat.* l. 43. p. 235. A.

ⁱ Juven. Sat. 9. 137. Plautus etiam

Larem ita loquentem introducit.

Huic filia una est: ea mihi quotidie

Aut thure, aut vino, aut aliqui semper supplicat;

Dat mihi coronas — Prolog. in Aulular.

* In Museo Etrusco, a Franc. Gorio in lucem edito, figuram quandam tripodem, huic nostræ haud absimilem, descriptam cernimus, quam Vir ille eruditus, atque in rebus hisce versatissimus, Geniorum arulam esse declarat^k: Genios autem istos, haud alios fere, ac Lares Penatesque ab antiquis habitos cognovimus^l.

Arulæ nostræ forma plane perbella est; basisque sculptili opere affabre ornata: cujus quidem ad exemplar, mensarum sæpe, sellarum, lectulorumque pedes, vel hodie etiam fabricatos videmus. Quippe ex hujusmodi veterum monumentis, ac supellectilis antiquæ reliquiis, nostrorum temporum opifices, qui in artibus suis famam ullam nomenque consecuti sunt, operum suorum modulos plerumque sumpsisse cognovimus; laudemque eos maximam semper adeptos esse, qui priscos illos quam diligentissime essent imitati.

T A B U L A XIV.

PRima Tabulæ hujus figura, Bacchæ cujusdam, seu feminae in Bacchi sacris initiatæ, imaginem præ se fert. Etenim Bacchus, cum ad Indos armis domandos proficisceretur, multas secum mulieres in exercitu duxisse traditur; quæ lymphatico quodam furore actæ, tripudiis carminibusque gesta ejus celebrabant, ac cultum ei divinum tribuebant. Quamobrem in perpetuam expeditionis istius memoriam, mulieres postea ad Bacchi semper sacra adhibitæ erant; quæ, quia in Orgiis istis, insanientium sese more agitare, ac gesticulari sole-

^k Tab. 166. ejusdem etiam formæ Arulas in Romanorum Imperatorum nummis sæpe insculptas cernere licet.

^l Adhærent ergo singulis, et sub nomine

Geniorum aut Penatium domos occupant. His sacra constituantur; his quotidie libatur, ut Laribus. I. & Div. Justit. c. 28. Vid. it. Montfauc. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 12. rent,

rent, græco nomine Bacchæ ac Mænades dictæ sunt; velut Deus item ipse, ab earum comitatu, Bacchus^m.

*Ubi capita Mænades vi jaciunt hederigeræ,
Ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitantⁿ.*

Bacchæ vero nostræ caput corona hederacea redimitum cernimus: Quippe hæc Bacchantium propria erat, ac mitra interdum et diadema a veteribus appellatur! quam Bacchus omnium primus invenisse, et capiti suo imposuisse fertur^o. Qui, ut Diodorus ait, ad repellendos capitis ex nimio potu dolores, *mitra caput cinxit, Regibusque inde diadematis gestandi exemplum dedit^p*. Sed de Bacchi, et Bacchantium, atque ebriorum fane omnium coronis, frequens admodum apud Poetas mentio occurrit. De Baccho ita Ovidius;

Bacche racemiferos bedera redimite capillos^r.

Tum de muliere Bacchi sacra celebrante;

Cur bedera cincta est? bedera est gratissima Baccho^s.

Propertius deinde, de ebriis quibusslibet.

*Sobrius ad lites: at cum est imposita corona,
Clamabis capiti vina subesse meo^t.*

^m Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 211, 212. &c.
Edit. Han. it. Suid. in voce——

ⁿ Catull. de Atty. 64. Hi Bacchantium chori, sive virorum, sive feminarum, Thiasii vocantur.

Instituit Daphnis Thiasos inducere Baccho.
[Virg. Ecl. 5. 30.] hinc Bacchus apud Euripidem

Θίασος ἐμὸς, γυναικες, ἃς ἐκ βαρβάρων
ἐκείνιστ' ἀπαίδους——

*O Thiasè mi, mulieres, quas ex barbaris
Eduxi cecites——* in Bacch. v. 56.

Vel ut Athenæum. l. 8. c. 16. p. 362.
^r At vero Thiasos hosce, non Bacchi

modo, sed aliorum item Deorum fuisse, neque aliud omnino ac Sodalitium seu Collegium, in Dei alicujus honorem institutum, sodaliumque ipsorum conventum significasse. Vir eruditus Ant. Van Dale demonstravit. Dissert. 9. c. 1.

^o Plin. Hist. N. l. 16. 4.

^p Diodor. Sic. ibid.

^q Fast. 6. 43.

^t Ib. 3. 765.

¹ Propert. El. l. 4. 2. it apud Plautum; *Quid, tu, ego video?* Pl. *Cum corona ebrium Pseudolum tuum.* Pseud. Act. 5. 2.

Cur autem ex hedera potissimum coronæ istæ contextæ fuerint, rationes quasdam physicas a scriptoribus antiquis traditas accepimus; atque ab Athenæo præsertim in hunc sensum. “Bacchi cultoribus, quorum capita ex nimio potu dolerent, remedio aliquo opus erat. Itaque vinculum sive sertum in cum finem promptissimum reperiebatur, natura ipsa viam indicante. Nam cum capitis quidam dolore affectus esset, et compressu deinde ejus levatus, tum vinculum doloris istius remedium esse intellexit. Hanc igitur medicinam inter potandum postea adhibentes, corona præcipue hederacea caput revinciebant; quia hedera et magna copia et omni loco spontanea nascitur; neque aspectu sane inveniusta, foliisque virentibus ac corymbis frontem opacans, et absque ullo odore incommodo præterea refrigerans[†].”

Sed aliam quoque rationem Plutarchus reddit; quippe “mulieres, inquit, Bacchicis furoribus correptæ, ad hedera recta feruntur, quam manibus statim arripientes ac devorantes, discerpunt; ita ut non fide omnino indigni esse videantur, qui hederae spiritum quendam inesse dicunt, qui insaniam furoremque excitat, mentesque hominum labefacit, et absque vini ope, ebrietate ac delectatione quadam eos potissimum afficit, qui ad concitationes ejusmodi fanaticas natura procliviores sint[‡].” Hæc Plutarchi sententia, a Plinio item confirmatur, qui *hederae succum, largius potum, mentem turbare, et caput purgare, nervisque nocere*, scribit[§]. Atque ob hanc fortasse causam *hedera*, inter *doctarum præmia frontium* recensitam, Poetisque præsertim pro corona datam legimus[¶]: propter inebriandi

[†] Athen. l. 13. c. 5. p. 675. it. Plat. Sympos. 3. p. 647. A.

[‡] Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. ad Fin.

[§] Lib. 24 c. x.

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[¶] Hor. Od. l. 1. 1. 1. Cælius item Aurlanus, Medicus antiquus, artis suæ experientia, ut credere licet, edoctus, hanc eandem vim Hederae attribuit, *eamque cum bibitur*,

briandi scilicet, five enthusiasmum quendam excitandi potestatem, quam, perinde ac laurus, habuisse reperta est.

Bacchi vero sacra, tam apud Græcos, quam Romanos, noctu plerumque celebrari solebant; ut Bacchus ipse apud Euripidem declarat.

Νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ σεμνότητ' ἔχει σκότος.
Noctu plerumque: tenebræ reverentiam creant.

Cui Pentheus respondet,

Τῶτ' εἰς γυναικας δόλιόν ἐστι καὶ σαθρόν.
Hoc mulieribus infidiosum est ac turpe.

Quod quidem Romæ olim verum esse compertum est: nam cum Consulibus indicatum esset, Orgia ista nocturna nonnisi stupris flagitiisque inquinari, ac *corruptelarum omnium*, ut Livius ait, *officinam esse*; non modo ex urbe, sed ex Italia etiam omni exterminata fuerunt¹. Quæ tamen, labante rursus disciplina, paucis post annis revocata, atque a mulieribus palam celebrata invenimus. At vero, ex ingenti Icuncularum harum numero, quæ, bacchantium habitu, usque ad hæc tempora conservata sunt, eas ad viventium similitudinem fictas esse, germanasque matronarum quarundem, quæ Bacchi sese sacris addixerant, imagines fuisse, verisimile videtur.

At illud denique haud silentio prætereundum; Bacchæ nimirum nostræ imaginem *oculos argenteos* habere: quod tamen in aliis sæpe Imagunculis inveniri; neque ex argento tantum, sed

bibitur, mentis errorem inducere, declarat.

N. B. Hoc autem omne, quod de hederæ vi inebriante hoc loco dictum est, a familiari meo multis, mihi nominibus carissimo, Gulielmo Heberden M. D. Collegii Div. Johan. apud Cantabrigienses socio, accepi. Qui ad Artis Medicæ scien-

tiam, qua quidem egregie præstat, litteras eas omnes reconditiores, atque ea humanitatis studia adjunxit, quæ hominem ingenuum ornare, suisque jucundum reddere queant.

¹ Euripid. Bacch. v. 486.

² Liv. l. 39. x.

e crystallo, gemmisque item pretiosis, oculos effici solere, harum rerum periti confirmant^a. Plinius, *Leonem marmoreum* in Insula Cypro extitisse ait, *cui oculi ex smaragdis radiantibus inditi essent*^b. Et Pausanias Minervæ simulachrum commemorat, *cujus oculi cærulei erant*^c.

Hanc oculos conficiendi artem, opifices quidam proprii, atque a sculptoribus diversi, exercuisse videntur: de quorum grege M. Rapium, in Inscriptione quadam antiqua celebratum legimus,

M. RAPILIVS. SERAPIO. HIC
AB. ARA. MARMOR.
OCVLOS. REPOSVIT. STATVIS.
QVOAD. VIXIT. BENE^d.

Atque hinc ex Icunculis hisce, nonnullæ oculis penitus destitutæ, foraminibus jam vacuis relictis, reperiuntur; quibus oculi scilicet vel ob vetustatem delapsi, vel ob pretium abrepti essent. At in nostra imagine, nil nisi album oculi argenteum fuisse apparet, *cujus in medio foramen adhuc concavum restat, in quod gemma olim aliqua pupillæ loco inserta fuisset.* Ex quo intelligere possumus, quantum artifices isti veteres operum suorum laudem ex oculorum acie pendere existimaverint, quantumque ideo in iis fingendis curam atque industriam posuerint.

S E C T. II.

Figura secunda, Gladiatoris effigiem æneam nobis ostendit, sed ex quo Gladiatorum genere aut factione, haud facile dici potest. Nam etiamsi multæ hujusmodi figuræ in

^a Osservaz. Istoric. Sopr. Alcun. Medaglioni. Da Fil. Buonarotti. Pr. xii.

^b Lib. 37. 5.

^c Lib. 1. 14.

^d Spon. Miscell. Sect. 6. p. 232. it. Inscript. Antiqu. Etrur. Vol. 1. p. 406.

libris descriptæ ac pervulgatæ sint, attamen nudæ plerumque, neque armis ullis, quibus factiones istæ maxime distinguebantur, instructæ apparent. Nudos cos quidem depugnare solitos, ab antiquis traditum est. *Homo, inquit Seneca, sacra res, jam per ludum jocumque occiditur: et quem erudiri ad inferenda accipiendaque vulnera nefas erat, is jam nudus inermisque producitur, satisque spectaculi in homine mors est*^c.

Gladiatoris autem nostri caput vel galeæ specie quadam, vel pileo potius, libertatis symbolo, tectum est. Etenim galea, quam Gladiatorum plerisque communem esse scimus, non caput modo, sed faciem quoque penitus obtigisse videtur.

— — — *Nec Myrmillonis in armis,*
Nec Clypeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina,
Nec galea faciem abscondit^f — — —

Bonannius, qui duas quoque Gladiatorum figuras, ex ære fictas edidit, omnes ejusdemmodi Icunculas, Marti seu Herculi, ob victoriam aliquam partam, libertatemve concessam, ex voto donatas esse arbitratur^e. Atque in hunc igitur finem Icunculam item nostram, effectam olim esse judicemus: neque enim ratio ulla probabilior inveniri facile poterit, quamobrem tantum earum numerum vel hodie extantem reperiamus. Ad quem quidem figuras istas consecrandi morem Tertullianus quasi alludere videtur, cum meliorem *Homicidam, laudem suam consecratione pensare*, scribit^h.

^a Sen. Epist. 95. vid. item Ep. 7.

^b Juven. S. 8. 200. vid. item. Fabrett Column. Trajan. c. 8. p. 258, 259. ubi **Batonis**, Gladiatoris galeam videre licet,

et duos Genios pileum libertatis, victor: cuidam Circensi deferentes.

^c Museum, Kircher. p. 70.

^d De Resurrection, Carn: p. 390.

S E C T. III.

A Liæ duæ Icunculæ restant, mihi tamen haud ita cognitæ, ut quidquam de eis certi stature audeam. At quoniam in argumento prorsus conjecturali versamur, alteram, cujus capiti æneo antiqui operis, thorax e marmore recens accommodatur, Germanici fortasse effigiem; alteram autem æneam, ex oris habitu, comarumque ornatu, vel Ægyptii alicujus, vel Etrusci potius Herois simulachrum esse conjicerem.

T A B U L A XV.

I Nstrumenta hujusmodi ænea, qualia in hac et sequenti Tabula delineata damus, ansis longiusculis, et sculptili opere ornata, quorumque exemplaria, in rerum antiquarum collectionibus, vel hodie etiam bene multa reperiuntur, ab eruditorum plerisque Pateræ vocanturⁱ. At vero Pateram, nihil aliud ac poculi genus quoddam fuisse, perspicuum est; cujus quidem usus tam in conviviis, quam in sacrificiis, a scriptoribus fere omnibus celebratur. “In poculis, inquit Varro, “erant pateræ, eo quod pateant, latine ita dictæ. Hisce “etiam nunc in publico convivio, antiquitatis retinendæ causâ, “cum magistri fiunt, potio circumfertur; et in sacrificando, “hoc poculo magistratus dat Deo vinum^k.” Macrobius item, “Pateram, uti nomen ipsum indicio est, poculum planum ac “patens esse, dicit^l.”

ⁱ Vid. Causei Musæ. Rom. Fabrett. Inscript. p. 538, 542. Cabinet de S. Genev. p. 10, &c.

^k De ling. lat. l. 4. Cicero a Thucydide traditum scribit, Themistoclem, cum taurum immolavisset, excepsisse sanguinem

patera, et eo poculo mortuum concidisse. [in Brut. 43. Ed. Lamb.] Isidorus item, Pateræ inquit sunt dictæ, vel quod in ipsis potare solemus, vel quod patentes sunt, dispanfis labris. Origin. l. 20 5.

^l Saturn. l. 5. 21.

*Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
Implevitque mero pateram*

*Ille impiger hausit
Spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro^m.*

Ex his, aliisque veterum testimoniis apparet, pateras, Vascula quædam concava et capacia fuisse, quibus vinum vel in conviviis largiter bibere, vel in sacrificiis Diis libare, vel in cornua victimæ fundere, vel sanguinem ejus excipere solerent; ad quæ quidem munera, has nostras figuras, ob superficiem planam atque æquabilem, inhabiles omnino atque inutiles esse, vel primo intuitu declarare licet. At vero germanam paterarum effigiem, in sculpturis numismatibusque antiquis, in quibus sacrificium aliquod solenne describitur, in sacrificantis usque manu cernimus; rotundam scilicet, et concavam, neque ansa ulla aut manubrio instructamⁿ.

Itaque Begerus Causeum, ceterosque rerum antiquarum interpretes, jure reprehendit, qui figuras ejusmodi planas atque ansatas, paterarum nomine appellant; quas ille quidem, Isidori auctoritate, Apophoretas vocat; quibus poma seu bellaria quælibet in conviviis, cœnantibus dari solita, contendit^o. At hæc eadem instrumenta, Vir doctus Bonannius patellas vocat^p; quibus epulas nimirum Diis Laribus apponere consueverunt.

*Et libate dapes; ut grati pignus honoris
Nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares^q.*

Hinc Varro a Nonio citatus, *Quocirca, inquit, oportet bonum civem legibus parere, et Deos colere, atque in patellam dare μίξρον καὶ ζῆ,*

^m Virg. Æn. 1. 732.

*Supponunt alii culeros tepidumque cruorem
Excipiunt pateris* ——— ibid.

ⁿ Vid. Column. Trajan. Tab. 67, 74.
78. it. Du Choul. Relig. Vet. Rom. p.
96, 135, &c.

^o Thesaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 424.

^p Muse. Kircher. p. 12. Tab. 5.

^q Ovid. Fastor. 1. 2. 633.

Fert missos Vestæ pura patella cibos.

ibid. 1. 6. v. 319.
paullu.

paullulum carnis^t. De his autem patellis, quod Diis appositum esset, comedere, tanquam hominis summe impii indicium a Cicerone commemoratur; *atqui reperimus*, inquit, *afotos, primum ita non religiosos, ut edant de patella*^t.

Sed patellas item istas, perinde ac pateras, concavas fuisse, atque a nostris propterea diversas, certissimum est: quippe quæ oleribus obsoniisque interdum coquendis, atque in mensam etiam ponendis inservisse dicuntur.

Nec modica cœnare times olus omne patella^t.

Montfauconius igitur, in rebus antiquis omnium fane versatissimus, de instrumentorum nostrorum usu ac nomine, nihil omnino statui posse putat, donec e veterum monumentis, quidam nondum visum eruatur, quod lucem aliquam majorem ad hanc litem dirimendam præbeat.

At quocunque demum nomine hæc vascula appellanda sint, hoc saltem ex eorum forma perspicuum videtur, ea videlicet nonnisi ad aridum aliquid, vel in sacrificando Diis, vel in cœnando convivis, offerendum, inventa atque adhibita esse.

Quod vero ad res potissimum divinas olim pertinuisent, ex figuris in eis insculptis, conjicere licet; quæ Deorum fere fabellas, imaginesque eas exhibent, quibus vascula potissimum sacra ornari solita accepimus. “ Apud Siculos, inquit Cicero, ante
“ Verrem Prætozem, domus erat nulla paullo locupletior, qua
“ in domo hæc non essent, etiamsi præterea nihil esset argenti:
“ patella grandis cum figillis ac simulachris Deorum; patera,

^t Non. Marcell. c. 15. 6. Hinc Dii Larcs, Patellarii dicti. Plaut. Cist. 2. r. 46.

^t De Finib. 2. 22.

^t Hor. Epist. 1. 1. 5. v. 2.

Quamvis lata gerat patella Rhombum

Rhombus latior est tamen patella.

Mart. Epig. 13. 81.

Plinius item pulmentarium in patellis decoctum commemorat. [Hist. N. 1. 13. 8. ad fin.] Atque apud Varronem legimus, multifariam in patellis coquere cape. in Fragm. p. 71.

^u Antiqu. Vol. 2. l. 3. c. 5. §. 4.

“qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur; Thuribulum: hæc
 “autem omnia antiquo opere et summo artificio facta.”
 Jam ex hoc loco, *Pateræ istæ, quibus mulieres uterentur*, a reli-
 quis omnibus, ad communem usum adhibitis, distingui viden-
 tur: neque alienum sane existimari potest, genus quoddam
 paterarum ornatius, leviusque mulierum præcipue usui dica-
 tum fuisse; e quibus vini modo pauxillulum fundere, ad liba-
 tiones rite faciendas sufficeret: et si talis paterarum distinctio,
 a nemine, quod sciam, memorata, revera tamen extitisse inve-
 niretur, conjicerem sane, instrumenta hæc nostra de paterarum
 earum classe fuisse, quæ fœminarum propriæ haberentur. Nam
 etiamsi nulla eorum figura vel in marmoribus vel numismatibus
 unquam visa sit, in quibus sacrificium aliquod a viris celebra-
 tum exprimitur; in Priapi tamen sacrificio supra memorato,
 atque a mulieribus confecto, vasculi speciem quandam, his nos-
 tris haud absimilem, mulieris cujusdam in manu cernimus,
 quæ de Sacerdotum numero esse apparet*. Atqui hoc tan-
 quam incertum penitus, nec nisi conjectura quadam extempo-
 rali fultum, aliis diligentius investigandum relinquo.

S E C T. II.

IN hac patera, mulieris Cygno insidentis effigies insculpta
 est; quæ dextra collum avis amplectitur, sinistra speculum
 orbiculare tenet: quod ad Ledæ certe historiolum, a Poetis fere
 omnibus decantatum, referendum arbitror. De qua quidem
 fabella, Helena, Ledæ filia, ad Paridem ita scribens, ab Ovidio
 inducitur.

* In Verr. lib. 4. 21.

fauc. Vol. 1. par. 2. lib. 1. c. 28. Tab.

x Vid. Boissard. Vol. 1. par. 2. it. Mont- 83. 9.

*Dat mihi Leda Jovem Cygno decepta parentem,
Quæ falsam gremio credula fovit avem¹.*

Ledam autem ipsam, in speculo sese contemplantem, ac forma oris eximia, qua Jovem ipsum subegerat, quasi exultantem videmus².

*De penant nivea pulli cervice capilli,
Leda cum nigra multibunda comæ*

T A B U L A XVI.

Figuræ in hac patera insculptæ, et vetustate, et vasculi ipsius effractione quadam, ita mutilatæ ac pæne oblitteratæ sunt, ut haud jam dignosci aut describi facile queant. Tres tamen hominum vel Deorum potius imagines cernimus; quarum duæ, ora sibi mutuo obversæ, atque eodem plane gestu, altero nimirum pede in terram, altero supra amphoram posito, inter sese quasi colloquentes finguntur. Hisce duabus imaginibus, tertia item media interjecta est, figura scilicet muliebris sedens, cujus ima tantum pars jam restat, reliqua penitus deleta: hanc vero Minervam esse conjicio, ex clypei specie quadam ei adjuncta, quæ os Gorgonis præ se ferre videtur. Atque in aliis etiam hujusmodi pateris, Heroum interdum Deorumque figuras, hac eadem positura, inter sese colloquentes animadverti³.

Sculpturæ denique genus præstantiamque quod attinet: illa quidem, in his nostris, perinde ac in omnibus, quæ vidi, ejusdemmodi instrumentis, nonnisi levi admodum opere, in summa

¹ Ovid. Epist. Helen. ad Parid. v. 55.

c. 5. it. Caesari Mus. Roman, p. 84.

² Id. Amor. l. 2. El. 4. v. 41.

Tab. 20. &c.

³ Vid. Montfauc. Atiqu. Vol. 2. l. 3.

T A B U L A XVII.

æris superficie exarata est; ubi omnis artificis cura in eo posita apparet, ut lineæ modo extremæ rerum ipsarum formam aliquam rudem, ac similitudinem præ se ferrent.

T A B U L A XVII.

HAstæ antiquæ spiculum sive cuspidem æneam in hac Tabula descriptam cernimus, una cum instrumentis duobus fabrilibus, ex ære pariter conflatis: quæ primo quidem aspectu antiquissima certe, nec nisi eorum temporum fuisse diceremus, quibus ferrum vel nondum cognitum, vel, quod magis mirum est, nonnisi raro usurpatum; quibusque Romanorum etiam gladii, quales illi quidem ex urbis veteris ruinis jam sæpe effossi dicuntur, ex ære quoque conflati erant.

Nam prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus^b.

At vero Ennius, vel priscis istis Reipublicæ seculis, enses, hastas, atque arma fere omnia, ferrea fuisse testatur.

Hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber^c.

Tum Clypei resonant et ferri stridet acumen^d.

Lucretius quoque eam ipsam ferri indurandi artem, qua vel hodie utimur, tanquam communem atque omnibus cognitam, commemorat.

Humor aquæ porro ferrum condurat ab igni^e.

Atque hac demum arte inventa, enses ferreos in æneorum locum successisse, atque instrumenta omnia, quibus ex ære antea usi essent, abjecta, et cum ferreis commutata esse declarat.

^b Lucret. 5. 1286.

^d Ib. p. 95. vid. it. p. 80, 50. 56, &c.

^c Vid. Enn. Fragmen. p. 81. Edit.

^e l. 6. 968.

Amstel. 1707.

T A B U L A . XVII.

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*Inde minutatim processit ferreus ensis,
Versaque in opprobrium species est falsis abenæ,
Et ferro cæpere solum proscindere terræ^f.*

Virgilius item, et enses, et hastas quoque ferreas plurimis locis memorat. —

*Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro^g.
Haud secus instructi ferro, quam si aspera Martis
Pugna vocet^h —*

Vitruvius denique, qui Augusti ætate floruisse dicitur, *Macchinam istam bellicam, quæ aries dicitur, rostrum de ferro duro, perinde ac naues etiam longas, habuisse*, scribitⁱ. Quod ab ipsis arietum, naviumque rostris, adhuc extantibus, quorum nonnulla ipse vidi, confirmatur.

Cum ferri igitur usus temporibus istis cognitus ac familiaris fuisse appareat, illud profecto mirum videtur, quod ad armorum eorum fabricam, quorum vis virtusque omnis ex metalli duritie, mucronisque subtilitate pendent, æs tamen adhiberetur: nam ita sese rem habuisse, hæc nostra instrumenta, atque alia ejusdem generis permulta, in libris passim descripta, demonstrant: quæ quidem omnia post ferrum inventum ex ære fabricata esse, promiscuumque diu cum ferro ipso usum obtinuisse, certissimum est. Virgilius enim, quem de ferro, tanquam pugnae ac Marti proprio, loquentem modo induximus, hastas tamen, ensesque ac proras etiam navium, æratas vocat.

*Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æreus ensis^k.
Quot prius æratæ steterant ad littora proræ^l.*

^f l. 5. 1292.

cell. l. 23. c. 4.

^g Æn. 12. 165.

^k Æn. 7. 743.

^h Ib. 124.

^l ib. 9. 122. it. 463.

ⁱ Lib. x. c. 21. vid. etiam Amm. Mar-

Attamen hujusmodi omnia, commentatorum plerosque tanquam poetice dicta, interpretari scio, et æs, vocem metallis omnibus communem esse, nec nisi de ferro in istis locis intelligi debere, contendunt^m. Sed *gladii ipsi ænei, hastarumque et sagittarum cuspides ex ære quoque constatæ*, quarum ingens plane numerus ex urbi antiquæ ruderibus ad hanc usque ætatem conservatus est, interpretationem istam prorsus refelluntⁿ, promiscuumque æris ac ferri usum per multa secula durasse confirmant. Quæ quidem utraque a Cicerone, tanquam belli instrumenta, et Marti propia, commemorantur^o.

Plutarchus, Aristotele auctore, tradit, *vulnera illa, quæ speculis gladii æneis infliguntur, minorem efficere dolorem, faciliusque sanari posse quam quæ ferreis; propterea quod æs virtutem quandam medicinalem in se habeat, quam in vulnere ipso statim deponit^p*. Si ob hanc igitur rationem, vanam licet ac futilem, veteres istos, humanitatis sensu commotos, arma ænea usurpassè arbitraremur; cur fabrorum tamen sculptorumque instrumenta ex ære etiam fecerint, mihi sane permirum, nec ullo modo explicabile videtur.

De Hastæ nostræ ætate, aut ubinam demum terrarum reperta fuerit, nihil equidem habeo, quod liquet. Sin conjecturis in-

^m Vid. Notas Lud. de la Cerda in Virg. Æn. x. 482. it. Fabrett. Col. Traj. 109.

ⁿ Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 4. l. 2. c. 7.

^o Jam æs atque ferrum, duelli instrumenta non fani. Leg. 2. 18.

^p Plut. Sympos. 3. c. ult. De hac vulnerum medicina ab æris rubigine petenda, celebris quædam fabella, a Poetis fere omnibus decantata, apud antiquos ferebatur. Telephus enim, Mysiæ rex, cum ab Achille graviter vulneratus esset, nec remedium ullum invenire posset, ab Oraculo hoc responsum accepit, ut ab eo, a quo

vulnus acceperat, sanaretur. Ab Achille igitur opem petiit, qui hastæ ejus rubiginem, qua eum feriisset, ad vulnus adhibens, illud statim sanavit.

Ego Telephon hasta Pugnanti domui, victum orantemque rescui.

Ov. Met. 13. 171.

Mysus et Hæmonia juvenis qua cuspide vulnus Senferat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem.

Propert. 2. 1.

Et sic, inquit Plinius, Telephum proditur sanasse Achilles, sive id ærea sive ferrea cuspide fecit. Ita certe depingitur eam decutiens gladio. Hist. N. 34. 15.

dulgere liceat, cum præacutam eam, usuque simul rubigine attritam videmus, haud scio, an in camporum eorum aliquo, ubi de Romæ ipsius fato decertatum esset, Pharsalico nimirum, Mutinensi, aut Philippico, inventam esse dicamus; secundum celebre istud Virgilii vaticinium;

*Scilicet et tempus veniet, quo finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila.*

S E C T. II.

Figura secundæ, aliam item consimilem, ac plane parem, a Comite Mascardo Veronensi, descriptam observavi; quam auctor iste nobilis, jaculi seu sagittæ, qualis e catapulta olim emitti soleret, cuspidem fuisse dicit^r. Montfauconius autem, qui tres quatuorve ejusdem generis ac formæ e diversis museis protulit, eas nonnisi sculptorum instrumenta esse declarat, quibus scilicet, ad lapides in formas quaslibet fingendos, utebantur^r.

S E C T. III.

Figura tertia sculptoris certe instrumentum fuit; ac celebrioris fortasse cujusdam, quatenus ex instrumenti ipsius ornatu, ac sculptili opere, conjectare liceat. Mucronem ejus, rubigine paullulum deterfa, auri penitus nitorem exæquare reperi: Plinius nempe, “ æs auro quondam argentoque confusum esse dicit, ac tria ejus genera recenset: Candidum,

^r Georg. 1. 493.

^r Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. l. 5. c. 1.

^r Vid. Museo Di Ludov. Mascardo. p. Tab. 60.

T A B U L A XVIII.

“ argento nitore quam proxime accedens, in quo illa mixtura
 “ prævaluit: alterum, in quo auri fulva natura: tertium, in
 “ quo æqualis omnium temperies fuit.” Strabo etiam lapidem commemorat, “ qui combustus in ferrum transit: et in
 “ camino deinde cum terra quadam excoctus pseudargyrum
 “ stillat; cui ubi æs additum est, temperamentum fit, quod
 “ nonnulli orichalchum vocant.” quod orichalchum vero istud auri plane pulchritudinem exæquaverit, neque alterum fere ab altero dignosci potuerit, ex Cicerone intelligimus, qui de hac ipsa re quæstionem instituit, *siquis aurum vendens orichalchum se putet vendere, indicetne ei vir bonus, aurum illud esse? an emat denario quod sit mille denarium*. Quamobrem ex orichalcho fortasse, seu temperatura istiusmodi aliqua, instrumentum nostrum conflatum esse puto.

T A B U L A XVIII.

JA M vero nummorum, quos omnium primos a Romanis ex ære signatos accepimus, seriem quandam hic descriptam damus. Quorum quidem plerosque Romæ dudum ipse collegeram, nonnullos autem, ibi quoque repertos, a viro mihi amicissimo, et cum ingenii acumine, tum literis omnibus politionibus ornatissimo, Daniele Wray, S. R. S. dono accepi.

¹ Hist. N. 34. 2.

² L. 13. p. 908. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

³ Cicer. Offic. l. 3. 23. Isidorus de Aurichalcho loquens, *fit autem, inquit, ex ære et igne multo, ac medicamentis perducitur ad aureum colorem: nomenque ex lingua Latina et Græca compositum dicit.* [l. 16. c. 19.] sed errare prorsus videtur, nam Orichalchum ab antiquis scriptum, atque a

Græco penitus fonte derivatum esse, constat. [vid. Festum in voce et Fabri notas. it. Plinii Hist. Nat. 34. 2.] Atqui ex his veterum testimoniis colligere licet, istud æris temperamentum, quod jam auri plane nitorem exæquat, quodque Pinchbackii, Opificis Londinensis, nomine celebratum est, non horum temporum inventum esse, sed antiquis in usu communi fuisse.

Aëris signandi originem, a scriptoribus fere omnibus ad fabulas, Janumque referri invenio. Athenæus a Dracone Corcyræo memoriæ proditum scribit, "Janum e Græcia in Italiam migrasse, montemque ibi juxta Tyberim occupasse, Janiculum postea ab eo dictum: ac inter alia, in vitæ humanæ commodum, ab eo excogitata, coronas et rates, et navigia invenisse; omniumque primum, nummos præsertim æneos signasse; in cujus beneficii memoriam, multas deinde Græciæ, Italiæ, ac Siciliæ urbes, in nummis suis, ex altera parte Janum bicipitem, ex altera, ratem vel navem, vel coronam insculpsisse^{*}." Alii vero rem paullo aliter tradunt; "Saturnum scilicet, a Jove filio expulsum, ad Janum confugisse; qui cum benigne admittitur excepit, atque in regni societatem admittit; et quo adventus ejus memoriam in posteros propagaret, æra, ex altera parte, capitis sui, ex altera navis effigie signavit^{*}."

Atqui hæc profecto de Jano Rege, apud præcos eos fama constans ferebatur; eum videlicet in Etruria diu ac feliciter regnasse; atque ob multa deinde beneficia, in hominum genus collata, omnium mortalium primum, in Deorum numerum relatum esse.

^{*} Deipnos. l. 15. c. 13. p. 692. Quod vero ab Athæneo hoc loco de nummis istis traditur, a Siciliæ ac Magnæ Græciæ nummis antiquis, adhuc extantibus, plane confirmatur; in quibus, ex altera parte, Jani bicipitis, ex altera, coronæ vel navis sæpe effigiem videmus. Vid. Sicil. de Phil. Parut. p. 142, 143.

[†] Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. p. 217. Lactant. Div. Instit. c. 13. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 274.

Atque hanc quidem famam ad Ovidii certe ætatem mansisse, constat; qui Janum de hac ipsa re secum colloquentem, et quærenti sibi, cur in nummis hæc, Imago biceps, navisque insculptæ fuerint, rem

ita exponentem inducit.

Multa quidem didici. Sed cur navalis in ære.

Altera signata est, altera forma biceps?

Noscere me duplici posses in imagine, dixit,

Ni vetus ipsa dies extenuaret opus.

Causa ratis superest. Thuscum rate venit in ænem,

Ante pererrato Falcifer orbe Deus.

Hæc ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum,

Cælitibus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat.

Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen,

Diæla quoque est Latium terra, latente Deo.

At bona posteritas puppim servavit in ære,

Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.

Publica

Publica quem primum vota precesque vocant^a.

Forma autem ejus biceps nihil aliud denotare videtur, ac circumspeditionem istam et sollertiam, quæ ex præteritorum memoria, futurorumque prudentia oritur; quamque Homerus, feni cuivis cauto ac provido attribuit, *ὅς ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω λείσσει*. Qui a fronte pariter atque a tergo prospicit^a.

At vero Romæ quisnam æra primus signaverit, haud satis compertum habemus. Suidas, Tranquilli auctoritate, ad Numam rem deferret; atque æs ita signatum, de nomine ejus, nummum vocari ait, quum ante id tempus, coriorum tantum segmenta, aut testas, nummorum loco adhibuissent^b. Plinius autem, quem jam omnes fere sequuntur, *Servium Tullium æs primum signasse scribit*, quo rudi antea usi essent, signatum vero *nota pecudum esse*, unde pecunia appellata^c. Attamen hac pecudum nota, quam boum oviumve effigiem esse dicit^d, nonnisi majorum ponderum nummos signatos fuisse cenfeo; eos nimirum, quos cum mercibus istis commutare possent, quibuscum boves antea, ovesve commutare solebant. Æris enim lamina duarum librarum, as dupondius vel dupondium vocabatur; trium librarum, Treffis; quatuor, Quadruffis; et sic usque ad Centussim, seu centum assium pondus, quem nummorum æneorum maximum fuisse, ex Varrone discimus^e. De hac autem nummorum classe, duos omnino Quadruffes, bovis effigie signatos, vel in curiosorum Museis asservatos, vel in libris descriptos vidi^f. In asse vero librali, ejusve partibus, quo-

^a Mart. Epig. l. x. 28. Principem in sacrificando Janum esse voluerunt. Cic. Nat. Deor. 2. 27.

^b Iliad. 3. 109. Quali etiam prudentia Plinius, Mauricum fuisse dicit, multis experimentis eruditum, et qui futura posset, ex præteritis providere. Epist. l. 1. 5.

^b Suid. in voce Assarion.

^c Hist. Nat. 33. 3.

^d Ibid. 18. 3.

^e Quo majus æris vocabulum non est. De ling. lat. l. 4.

^f Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. par. 1. c. 9. Tab. 27.

rum plurima adhuc exemplaria restant, nullam unquam bovis ovifve effigiem, unica tantum excepta, insculptam animadverti^g.

S E C T. I.

Primus iste nummus, germana Assis libralis imago est: ejus prorsus generis, quod Romæ olim, vel a Numa, vel Servio Rege, omnium primum signatum esse liquet. Ex quo idem illud, quod ab aliis Italiæ ac Siciliæ civitatibus factum esse, supra memoravimus, Reges quoque Romanos fecisse, Janique memoriam in nummis suis celebrasse, videmus. Cujus forma biceps ex altera Assis nostri parte, ex altera, Mercurii caput signatum est: quem quidem Deum, tanquam lucri auctorem, commerciique præsidem, priscos istos invocasse cognovimus.

*Te quicumque suas profitetur vendere merces,
Tibure dato, tribuas ut sibi lucra, rogat^h*

Istud vero, sive falx, seu quodvis aliud instrumentum fuerit, quod juxta Mercurii caput exsculptum prominet, nihil aliud esse a viris doctis putatur, ac nota quædam, qua æris signandi artifices, officinam quisque suam, nam quatuor Romæ institutæ dicuntur, pro arbitrio distinguere consueverunt.

Assen antiquorum libralem, uncias æris duodecim, et pondere et pretio exæquasse, notissimum est: cujus partes primariæ, in communi maxime usu tritæ, sæpiusque idcirco a scrip-

^g Vid. Cabin. S. Genev. Parif. a Moli-
neto edit.

^h Ovid. Fast. 5. 671.

—grates habeo—

*Simul Mercurio, qui me in mercimoniis
Juvit, lucrisque quadruplicavit rem meam.*

Plut. Stich. 3. 1.

Inscriptio item antiqua extat apud Grute-
rum. p. 55. 1.

MERCVRIO. NEGOTIATORI
SACRVM.

NVMISIVS ALBINVS
EX VOTO.

toribus memoratæ, hæ sunt; Semissis, five pars dimidia, sex unciarum; Triens, seu pars tertia, quatuor unciarum; Quadrans, seu pars quarta, trium unciarum; Sextans, seu pars sexta duarum unciarum; Uncia denique five Stips uncialis, pars duodecima. Quorum quidem nummorum omnium, sextante tantum excepto, exemplaria jam perpulchra quædam lectori contemplanda damus.

S E C T. II.

Secundus nummus, semissis est, ut littera, S, nota ejusdem propria, utrinque insculpta indicat. Ex altera parte, capite senili, laureato, vel Jovis Capitolini, vel Servii fortasse Regis, æris signandi auctoris; ex altera, navis effigie signatur.

S E C T. III.

Tertius item, Semissis est, sed rubigine haud parum attritus, et cui littera, S, vetustate jam fere evanuit. Hic autem Pegasi effigie utrinque signatus est: cujus quidem ratio haud explicatu facilis videtur, ni cum Begero, Pegasus, tanquam Corinthi symbolum, ad Tarquinii Prisci, Corintho oriundi, originem celebrandam, a Servio ejus successore et privigno adhibitum censeamusⁱ. Quippe Pegasus in Syracusarum item nummis; quæ Corinthi colonia fuit, persæpe signatum cernimus; perinde ac in Familiarum etiam Romanarum nonnullis, in quibus litteræ, COR, interdum inscriptæ, eos ad Corinthum respectum aliquem habere, et vel ab Achaïæ Prætoris, vel alio quovis magistratu, Corinthi cum imperio degente, percussos esse, indicant^k.

ⁱ Vid. Thesaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 80.

faur. in Famil. Bellia et Cæcilia. Tab. 2

^k Vid. Sicil. di Phil. Paruta, descritt. con. Medagl. p. 48. &c. it. Morell. The-

Numm. A. iv. B. c.

S E C T. IV.

Quartus, Triens est; tertia pars Assis, quatuor uncias complectens, totidemque punctis notatus. Nam singulæ Assis partes istiusmodi punctis, unciarum numerum denotantibus, inter sese distingui solebant. Hic autem Triens, ex utraque parte, capitis equini effigie signatur; quod quidem signum, in aliis quoque Romanorum nummis nonnunquam animadverti: a priscis istis idcirco fortasse adhibitum, ut bellicam eam virtutem, animumque ferocem indicarent, quibus populus Romanus omnes gentes superaturus esset: ob quam etiam causam, urbis ipsius fundator, Romulus, equos ad bellum aluisse, ludosque equestres instituisse traditur¹.

Hac Quirinus

Martis equis Acheronta fugit^m.

Atque hinc equum, tanquam Marti dicatum, ac bello utilem, et bellatoris etiam nomine a Poetis latinis celebratum legimus.

Bello armantur equi, bellum hæc armenta minanturⁿ.

S E C T. V.

Quintus, Quadrantem, seu quartam assis partem exhibet, trium unciarum nummum, tribusque ideo punctis notarum: is autem manu aperta, fidei videlicet, in mercibus nummisque permutandis, symbolo, ex utraque parte signatus est.

¹ Equiria, ludi, quos Romulus Marti instituit, per equorum cursum. Fest. it. *Post bellator equus, positus insignibus, Æthon.*
Ovid. Fast. 2. 859. — ib. xi. 89.

^m Hor. Od. 1. 3. 3.

Vid. it. Georgic. 3. 84. Lucret. 2. 660.
Stat. Thebaid. 2. 66.

ⁿ Virg. Æn. 3. 540.

S E C T. VI.

Sextus, stips uncialis, sive uncia est, assis libralis pars duodecima; unico puncto notatus: atque ex altera parte, vasculi cujusdam sacrificialis, ex altera, litui auguralis effigie signatus.

S E C T. VII.

Septimus item, stips uncialis esse videtur, ex utraque parte securis, opinor, ac clavæ specie quadam insignitus.

Quod hi autem nummi, assen, ut supra dixi libralem, partesque ejus revera exhibeant, ex ponderibus eorum inter se collatis, perspicuum est. As enim antiquus duodecim uncias continebat, quæ quidem uncia ejusdem plane momenti erant, ac istæ, quas Gallico nomine, Averduois vocamus, atque ad merces varias ponderandas hodie adhibemus. Uncia enim vetus Romana ex granis quadringentis et triginta octo constabat, hanc scilicet nostram, grani tantum unius dimidio, exsuperans*. Hæc vero æra, quum figuris, et superficie eminentibus, ac majori idcirco attritui obnoxiiis, signata sint, haud parvam sane, post tot elapsa secula, ponderis antiqui diminutionem subiisse reperiuntur; nec majorem tamen, quam quæ ex annorum bis mille vetustate et rubigine expectari facile poterat: nam quædam eorum, partem solummodo octavam, alia sextam, alia autem quartam, pro variis, quos subierant, casibus, amississe videbimus.

	Unc.	Gran.
As noster jam continet - - -	10	10
Semissis - - - - -	4	366
Semissis alter - - - -	4	239

* Vid. Hooper on Ancient Meas. p. 10, 14. It. Arbuthn. Tab. 7. Note 1.

T A B U L A XVIII.

131

Triens. o o o o	- - -	3	283
Quadrans. o o o	- -	2	179
Stips Uncialis. o	- -	o	347
Stips altera	- - -	o	327

Hæc profecto Æra, monumentorum omnium, quæ a priscis Romanis ad nos pervenerunt, vetustissima esse censeo: cujus rei indicium hoc mihi certissimum videtur, quod non typo aliquo impressa aut percussa, sed ex ære fuso conflata sint; atque eis certè seculis, quibus æris ferendi ars nondum inventa erat^P. At vero ante bellum Punicum primum, signata ea omnia fuisse necesse est: quippe e bello, ut Plinius ait, “ cum impensis
“ Respublica non sufficeret, pondus æris imminutum, consti-
“ tutumque, ut asses Sextantario pondere ferirentur; ita quin-
“ que partes factæ lucri, dissolutumque æs alienum. Nota
“ æris fuit, ex altera parte Janus Geminus, ex altera rostrum
“ navis; in Triente vero et Quadrante rates—postea Anni-
“ bale urgente, Q. Fabio maximo Dictatore, asses unciales
“ facti—ita respublica dimidium lucrata est—mox lege
“ Papiriana, semiunciales asses facti¹.” Ex quo Plinii testi-

^P Omnes item Tuscorum veterum nummi ænei, quos hodie extare cognovimus, quosque cum in Dempsteri Etruria Regali. [Vol. 1. p. 350. et Append. 38.] tum in Gorii Museo Etrusco [p. 425. Tab. 196.] delineatos videmus, ex ære fuso conflati sunt: atque hoc ipsum Gorius inter Etruscorum Romanorumque nummos discrimen statuit, quod Etruscorum semper fusi, Romanorum impressi fuerint. [ibid. Vol. 2. p. 421.] at vero nullum istiusmodi discrimen, aut scriptorum aut monumentorum veterum auctoritate confirmatum reperio: Romanosque præsertim, in nummis signandis, hanc æris fundendi rationem per multa secula secutos esse, nec ante bellum fortasse Punicum, ferendi artem invenisse,

ex assè nostro librali, aliisque permultis adhuc extantibus, probabile est.

Sed alias quasdam discriminis notas inter nummos istos a Phil. Buonarrotti constitutas animadverti; qui caput istud bifrons, quo signatos eos sæpe videmus, in *nummis Etruscis, juvenile et imberbe ac pilco testum*, in Romanis contra, *barbatum ac nudum* semper inveniri, dicit. [Vid. Addend. ad Dempst. Etrur. Reg. p. 38.] At hæc quoque distinctio nequaquam vera esse videtur; nam hac ratione, assen nostrum libralem et Etruscum et Romanum simul dicamus necesse erit; Etruscum, quia capite bifronte, imberbi ac juvenili; Romanum, quia nudo nec pileato signatus est.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 33. 3.

“ monio,

T A B U L A XIX.

monio, tres assis Romani diminutiones, diversis temporibus publice constitutas, intelligimus; quibus as scilicet a pondere librali, primum ad sextam, deinde ad duodecimam, tum ad vicefimam quartam ejus partem redactus est. Hoc autem interea lectori memoria tenendum, assen istum, utcunque pondere imminutum, in duodecim tamen partes æquales, atque idem usque pretium obtinentes, quæ uncia vocabantur, divisum semper fuisse.

T A B U L A XIX.

UT Assis modo libralis, partiumque ejus figuras, in Tabula superiore exhibui, ita Assis jam imminuti, membrorumque ejus, germana quædam monumenta, in hac Tabula describere progredior; quæ quidem omnia, ob æris ferendi artem, hoc temporis intervallo, ut videtur, inventam, non fusa amplius aut conflata, sed impressa aut percussa esse apparent.

S E C T. I.

PRimus igitur nummus assen, ad sextantis five duarum unciarum pondus, imminutum indicat; quem eodem plane modo signatum cernimus, quo Plinius asses ejus generis signatos esse memorat, ex altera parte, Jano Gemino, ex altera, rostro navis. Infra navem vox, ROMA, at litteris jam fere evanescentibus, legitur: supra vero, Deæ Victoriæ effigies, lauream coronam manu gestans, ad navem quasi coronandam, advolare videtur; ob victoriam fortasse celebrem istam Duilianam, quæ primo Punico bello, quo hic ipse nummus signatus fuit, contra Pænos parta est. Notam vero istam, seu litteram, I, quæ supra capita, navimque utrinque ex-

T A B U L A XIX.

I

sculpta est, tanquam signum assis proprium, ab eruditis intelligi reperio.

S E C T. II.

Secundus, assis sextantarii pars dimidia, sive semissis est, littera, S, utrinque notatus; atque ex altera parte, capite, corona laurea redimito, ex altera, rostro navis, signatus. Infra navem vox, ROMA, at vetustate jam fere oblitterata, inscripta est.

S E C T. III.

Tertius, assis ejusdem pars tertia, sive triens est, quatuor punctis notatus; cujus ex altera parte, Romæ caput galeatum, atque eleganter exsculptum; ex altera, rotæ species quædam cernitur; intra singulos cujus radios singulæ litteræ inscriptæ apparent, artificis fortasse nomen, quasi operis præstantia superbi, olim indicantes; sed nimium jam attritæ, quam ut dignosci facile queant. Atqui eandem etiam rotæ figuram, in Tuscorum antiquorum nummis, unde Romani, hanc ipsam æris signandi artem accepisse dicuntur, interdum animadverti; et quum signa istiusmodi omnia symbolicum quiddam continere, a plerisque existimari video, haud scio, an hac rotæ imagine, volubilem nummorum conditionem, citumque de manu in manum transitum significari, censendum sit.

S E C T. IV.

Quartus, assis ejusdem pars quarta, sive quadrans est, tribus punctis notatus: cujus ex altera parte, Herculis

† Vid. Dempst. Etsur. Regal. Vol. 1. p. 350.

juvenis caput, pelle leonina tectum; ex altera rostrum navis exculptum est; ac supra navem vox ROMA. Herculis autem caput clavamque in nummis hisce haud raro signari cernimus; quem quidem Deum, tanquam *Furum Latronumque* propulsatorem, a pecuniosis praecipue invocari, ac *domum conservatorem, magnumque Custodem* appellari; eisdemque divites idcirco bonorum suorum decumas vovere solitos, legimus.

*Hæc vovisse jam opus est; quantum potest,
Uti decumam partem Herculi polluceam.*

Jam nummorum item horum pondera, cum assis Sextantarii, partiumque ejus descriptione satis apte congruunt, nisi quod **Quadrans** pondus ejus legitimum aliquantulum exsuperet: atque hoc idem Montfauconius, se in hoc nummorum genere persæpe invenisse declarat. Quippe in nummis istiusmodi ferendis, si æris percussi aliquid, quod accidere nonnunquam necesse erat, ultra modum pondusque nummi proprium forte adhæsisset, illud tamen opifices, in re tantilli pretii, negligendum omnino arbitrantur.

As noster Sextantarius jam continet	1	348
Semissis - - - - -	o	342
Triens o o o o - - -	o	264
Quadrans o o o - -	o	248

Sed assen deinde ad unciale item pondus imminutum esse, a Plinio supra traditum legimus: cujus quoque imminutionis exemplaria pariter quædam hic delineata proferuntur.

¹ Vid. Gruter. Inscript. p. 45. x. it. p. 134. &c.

² Διὰ τὴν Ἡρακλεῖ πολλοὶ τῶν πλεονάζοντων ἰδεκάτευον τὰς ἀρίας. Plut. Quæst.

Rom.

³ Plaut. Stich. Ac. 1. Sc. 3. 80.

⁴ Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7.

S E C T. V.

Quintus enim nummus, assēm, nī fallor, uncialem præ se fert. Quippe nota ista, I, quæ assis propria habetur, utrinque notatus, atque ex altera parte, Jani bicipitis, ex altera, navis effigie, una cum voce, ROMA, subscripta, signatus est.

S E C T. VI.

Sextus, assis ejusdem pars dimidia, sive Semissis est, littera, S, utrinque notatus; atque ex altera parte, capite senili laureato, ex altera rostro navis insignitus: supra navem vero littera, T, et vasculi quoque cujusdam species, artificis scilicet nota, vel tabernæ ejus signum, exsculpta cernitur^x.

S E C T. VII.

Septimus, assis hujus pars tertia, sive Triens est, quatuor punctis utrinque notatus, atque ex altera parte, Romæ galeatæ capite, ex altera, rostro navis signatus; cui vox, ROMA, etiam supra navem inscripta est.

S E C T. VIII.

Octavus assis ejusdem pars sexta, sive sextans est: ex altera parte, Mercurii capite, ex altera, rostro navis signatus^y.

Atque

^x Romæ enim olim, perinde ac in urbibus hodie nostris, Opifices, ac mercium quarumlibet venditores, tabernas suas, pro cujusque arbitrio, tabulis pictis seu imaginibus, quas signa vocamus, distinguere consueverunt. Hinc Galli cujusdam effigiem deformem atque immanem, in C. Vol. IV.

Marii Scuto Cimbrico pictam, et Tabernæ cuidam in Foro Romano appositam legimus: de quo celebris Crassi Oratoris locus memoriæ proditur. [Cic. de Orat. l. 2.] *Tabernæ erant circa Forum ac Scutum illud, signi gratia positum.* Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

^y Hunc Sextantem, nummulum eundem
U c32

T A B U L A XIX.

Atque horum item nummorum momenta inter sese satis apte conveniunt, nisi quod As modum ei præscriptum nonnihil excedere reperitur.

	Unc.	Gran.
As enim his uncialis continet	1	83
Semissis S - - - -	o	220
Triens o o o o - - -	o	165
Sextans - - - - -	o	87

Tertiam istam assis imminutionem quod attinet, qua ad pondus demum semiunciale, Papiriana lege, redactus fuit, ea quidem a C. Papirio Carbone Tribuno plebis, A. U. 563, facta putatur. Hujus autem assis, haud ullas omnino partes, præter Semiensem ac Trientem percussas esse arbitror.

S E C T. IX.

DE nummis autem nostris, nonus iste, qui nullis punctis notatus, Janique bicipitis, et navis effigie signatus est, As Semiuncialis esse videtur: quippe semunciae fere pondus adhuc habere reperitur; grana videlicet 194.

Sed litteris cum etiam quibusdam insculptum cernimus, Q. TITI. quæ magistratus, opinor, cujus jussu percussus erat, nomen indicant. Nam cædem plane litteræ, in Familiæ Titia nummo quodam consimili, insculptæ apparent; quibus apud item effigies, de nostro ære jam detrita, adjuncta est; qua quidem Havercampius, nummorum istorum interpret doctissimus, significari putat, Q. istum Titium, quem tribunum plebis

esse puto, quem Varro Sextulam vocat, *ærisque signati partem minimam* declarat. [De Ling. Lat. l. 4. vers. fin.] Haud mirum igitur, quod Montfauconius assis hujus *spitem uncialem*, sive partem duodecimam in Museo suo desiderari ait: quia

nullam omnino partem, Sextante minorem, signatam unquam fuisse, ex hoc Varronis loco intelligimus.

Vid. Montfauc. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7. §. 3.

fuisse ait, eloquentiæ laude floruisse, atque ex disertorum eorum numero fuisse, quorum sermo melle dulcius fluere dicitur².

At vero alias præterea assis antiqui imminutiones factas olim fuisse, a nemine licet scriptorum veterum memoratas, Montfauconius declarat; idque ex monumentis ipsis, Assiumque partibus adhuc extantibus, quæ cum trium earum imminutionum nulla omnino conciliari possunt, demonstrari contendit³. Atque hoc profecto verisimile admodum censendum est; istiusmodi videlicet imminutiones non ita præcipites fuisse, sed gradibus potius lentioribus processisse, quam ut prima penitus vice, duodecim unciae ad duas redigerentur: idque sane a nostris item nummis duobus confirmari videtur.

S E C T. X.

NUmmus enim decimus, quatuor punctis notatus, Triens sine dubio esse apparet; ex altera parte Romæ galeatæ, ex altera, Herculis, Centaurum clava ferientis, imagine signatus: eum autem assis olim semilibralis, seu sex unciarum, Trientem fuisse, necesse est, propterea quod unciam adhuc unam, et grana item 365 pondere exæquet.

S E C T. XI.

NUmmus denique undecimus, unico puncto notatus, atque ex altera parte Romæ galeatæ capite, ex altera, rostro navis signatus, assis certe ejusdem pars duodecima, sive Stips uncialis est, quippe quæ Semunciae fere, seu granorum 215 jam pondus habet.

² Vid. Theaur. Morell. in Fam. Titia Numm. iv.

³ Montfauc. Suppl. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 6. §. 2.

Præter has autem Affis antiqui partes, quas in Tabulis his expressas videmus; aliæ præterea quinque, atque omnes quidem semissæ majores, a scriptoribus sæpe memorantur; Deunx, Decunx, Dodrans, Bes, Septunx: quæ tamen omnes, non nummi totidem signati, sed fictitii tantum erant, seu summæ potius nummorum diversæ, quæ in pecunia numeranda, ex uncii aliquot vel de Assæ demptis vel semissi additis conficiebantur. “Septunx, inquit Varro, a septem et uncia conclusum: reliqua a diminutione; ut a duodecim, una dempta uncia, Deunx; dempto Sextante, Decunx: dempto Triente, Dodrans; dempto Triente, Bes, ut olim Des^b.”

Infra semissem quoque nummus adhuc unus restat, Quincunx scilicet, cujus nulla in his Tabulis figura datur. An is autem inter nummos signatos revera censendus sit, mihi sane haud perspicuum est. Montfauconius, se unicum modo ejus exemplar vidisse declarat, quinque punctis notatum^c. At vero, quanquam de viri sanctissimi pariter ac doctissimi fide, nullo modo derogare velim, tamen cum puncta ista ita confuse interdum atque obscure expressa animadverti, ut haud facile dignosci possent; cumque nemo eorum quispiam, qui nummos ejusmodi ediderunt, Quincuncis omnino figuram exhibuerit^d, horum certe alterum verum esse oportet, Quincuncem videlicet aut nunquam signatum fuisse, aut si fuerit, in desuetudinem postea abiisse; neque de nummo idcirco signato jam intelligendum esse, sed perinde ac nostræ monetæ quinque denarios, de nummi tantum fictitii nomine, ex uncia de semisse dempta, vel Trienti addita, confecti; neque aliter equidem Horatius de eo interpretandus videtur.

^b De Ling. Lat. l. 4. vers. fin.

&c. it. Dempt. Etrur. Regal. V. 1.

^c Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7. §. 3.

p. 350.

^d Vid. Caban. de Sainte Genev. p. 15.

*Romani pueri longis rationibus affem
 Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
 Filius Albini, si de Quincunce remota est
 Uncia, quid superet. Poteras dixisse Triens. Eu!
 Rem poteris servare tuam. redit uncia, quid sit?
 Semis. —*^c

Jam in ærum nostrorum plerisque ea ipsa signa impressa cer-
 nimus, quæ Plinius Assi, partibusque ejus tanquam propria
 attribuit; Jani videlicet bicipitis, ac navis rativæ imagines^f.
 Præter hæc autem ærum signa legitima ac propria, alia inter-
 dum diversi prorsus generis animadvertere licet, quæ a magi-
 stratibus, quibus æris signandi munus commissum erat, pro
 arbitrio plerumque posita esse videntur^g. Etenim in Familia-
 rum Romanarum nummis, asses hosce, item ac singulas eorum
 partes, signis sibi propriis notatos, et una cum percussoris
 nomine, symbolis etiam quibusdam ad familiam ejus pertinen-
 tibus, signatos sæpiissime videmus^h: ex quo quidem signorum
 in his nummis varietatem maxima ex parte derivatam arbitror.
 Quod Janus autem Geminus et Navis, signa semper æris legi-
 tima ac præcipua fuerint, ex puerorum lusu quodam, ut Ma-
 crobius scribit, demonstratur: nam æs, inquit ille, *ita signatum*

^c De Art. Poet. 325.

^f Hinc Festus Quadrantem, ratum dictum esse scribit.

^g Post Reges Urbe pulsos, Aëris signandi potestatem penes consules fuisse, haud dubium est, hi tamen, cum rebus graviori-
 bus dissentii essent, reliquis, opinor, ma-
 gistratibus munus istud committere sole-
 bant. Temporis autem progressu, magistra-
 tum quendam proprium, qui hujus rei præ-
 esset constitutum invenimus; tres videli-
 cet erant, quos Triumviros seu Treviros

monetales appellabant. Hos Ciceronis ætate extitisse ex joco quodam ejus in nomen illud illudentis, apparet. [Vid. Epist. Fam. 1. 7. 13. it. de Leg. 3. 3.] Pitiscus, ex Fastorum Consularium auctori-
 tate, eos ante bellum Punicum creatos esse contendit. Vid. Lexic. in Voce—

^h Vid. Thesaurum Morell. ubi horum nummorum exempla in Familiis saltem antiquioribus satis multa exhibentur.

fuisse, hodie intelligitur ex aleæ lusu; cum pueri denarios in sublime jactantes, Capita aut Naviam, lusu teste vetustatis, exclamantⁱ.

Priscis Reipublicæ temporibus, post Reges statim exactos, nonnisi modicam admodum æris signati copiam Romæ inventam esse, multasque propterea civium, bobus ovibusve solvi solitas, traditur^k. Legibus vero tunc cautum erat, ne multa gravissima duos boves, et triginta oves excederet; utque bos Centussibus, Ovis Decussibus æstimaretur. Fannius deinde Consul, A. U. 592. legem sumptuariam tulit, ut in festis solennioribus, Centussis, in aliis quibusdam, Trecussis, reliquis autem diebus, Decussis tantum, seu deni Asses in singulas cenas insumerentur^l. His igitur seculis, ob æris signati inopiam, assẽm haud parvi pretii fuisse liquet: sed postquam argentum aurumque deinde signari, atque in urbe sensim abundare cœperint, tum æris pretium imminui, assẽmque demum, tanquam vilem prorsus, nec sine contemptu quidem memoratum, legimus; ita ut qui summam rei alicujus vilitatem significare vellent, se assẽm daturus, negarent^m.

————— Cum dærit egenti
As laquei pretiumⁿ. ———
 ——— Merse rate Naufragus assẽm
Dum rogat^o. ———

At vero Quadrans, seu quarta assis pars, balneatoribus semper, tanquam propria eorum merces, vel more vel lege consi-

ⁱ Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 7. Navia, ratis erat ex unico ligno exculpta. Fest. Atqui hunc eundem aleæ lusum, a Romanis, ut videatur, derivatum, apud pueros item nostris in usu hodie esse videtur: qui nummos æneos in aërem jactantes, Capita aut Feculam, exclamant, spoliatio interim facta, etiam coram alioquin sapientibus sit casurum.

^k Plutar. in Vit. Poplic. p. 123.

^l Vid. Dionys. Hal. it. A. Gell. 1. 2. 24. it. Macrob. Sat. 2. 13.

^m Cic. Orat. pr. Quintio. 5. As enim quarta fere parte minus, quam denarius noster, pretio valuisse putatur.

ⁿ Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 2. 99.

^o Juv. 14. 301.

tuta erat; quam plebecula nimirum pro balnearum publicorum usu solvere solebat. Hinc Quadrante lavari; idem fere apud auctores veteres significat, ac balneo uti^p. Quippe apud populum sub sole calido degentem, neque linteis omnino ullis, sed lana prorsus vestitum, cum balnea certe, et ad munditiam et ad valetudinem etiam necessaria erant, prudenter admodum provisum esse videtur, ut eorum usus omnibus promiscue, et pretio sane quam minimo permixtus esset.

T A B U L A XX.

PRima Tabulæ hujus figura ponderis antiquorum libralis effigiem satis pulchram, ex ære conflata, exhibet; quæ litteris græcis in hunc modum signata est; Λ. Α. Quarum quidem primæ duæ, Λ, ponderis ipsius nomen, Litram, indicant; Α, vero unam Litram denotat. Hujusmodi pondera, ex ære facta et publice signata, in templis, ærariis, macellisque urbis, ad communem civium usum asservari solebant, ut ex monumentis, inscriptionibusque antiquis apparet^q. Pondus hoc nostrum, ob materiæ duritiem, superficiemque glabram et æquabilem, nonnisi parvulum quiddam de gravitate pristina amisisse reperio: nam uncias adhuc undecim et paullo plus dimidia, continet; parte nimirum ejus haud vicesima quarta absumpta: quod eruditorum eorum sententiam plane confirmat, qui libræ veteris uncias, ut supra dictum est, easdem esse contendunt, ac nostras istas, quas Averdupois hodie vocamus^r.

^p — *Dum tu Quadrante lavatam*
Rex ibis——

Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 137.

Ca. de e Silvano porcum Quadrante lavari,

Juv. Sat. 6. 446

^q Vid. Fabrett. Inscript. p. 524. &c.


^r Vid. Hooper on Ancient Measures, p. 10. 15. Arbuthnot. Tab. 7. Note 1. vid. item. Operis hujus p. 194. Not. 3.

At vero omnes, qui de ponderibus his antiquis scripserunt, ac momenta eorum accurate definire conati sunt, magnam in eis fane varietatem et discrepantiam se invenisse dicunt, ita ut in singulis non modo Italiæ, sed urbis etiam ipsius regionibus, diversa eorum genera in usu fuisse existiment, quæ ad modulum aliquem certum legitimumque a magistratibus haud redigi potuerunt: quorum quidem pleraque, quæ hodie videntur, a mensura fere usitata deficere, quædam tamen contra, eandem exsuperare reperiuntur^f. Atque hæc ponderum antiquorum discrepantia, nummorum item æneorum, qui ad ponderum rationes semper accommodari solent, varietates eas supra indicatas explicare poterit.

S E C T. II.

PONDERA ea minora, quorum seriem quandam proximo loco descriptam videmus, nonnisi unciam veterem ejusque partes aliquas exhibent. Ex variis autem eorum momentis perspicere licet; uncias hæc, prout in locis diversis reperta, aut ad usus diversos adhibitæ essent, et magnitudine plerumque et pondere a se invicem discrepasse. Medici Romæ degentes, unciam Atticam usurpasse dicuntur, quæ Romana gravior erat, atque ex granis circiter quingentis constabat^g. Quamobrem de ponderum horum minorum figuris, primam et maximam, unciam istiusmodi Atticam esse puto; haud viginti jam grana de pondere justo desiderantem.

Secunda Figura, uncia Romana est, de pondere tamen antiquo parvulum quiddam diminuta.

Tertia item, uncia est, ut notæ istæ argenteæ in superficiem ejus insertæ, indicant: quarum altera, , unciae propria esse,

^f Vid. Hoop. ib. p. 173.

^g Vid. Hoop. ibid. p. 56.

altera vero, A, unam, ut dixi, denotare, putatur^o. Hæc autem uncia, vel vetustate attrita, vel pondere potius minori, quam par erat, ab initio conflata, jam quartam unciae Romanæ partem, et amplius aliquanto desiderare reperitur.

Quarta, tribus punctis distincta, Drachma Attica est, octava unciae Atticæ pars, quæ medicis præcipue in usu fuit, et tres scrupuli tribus istis punctis indicatos, continebat^o.

Quinta, duobus punctis notata, duos unciae ejusdem scrupulos denotat.

Reliquæ duæ, quæ restant, forma plana atque orbiculari, Unciam item Romanam, et Semunciam indicant; ut ex notis, momentisque eorum apparet. Nota enim ista Γο, quam in aliis quoque ponderibus animadverti, Unciam, Græce scriptam, οὐνία, denotat^x. Quid autem notulæ istæ, in figura Semunciali insculptæ, significant, haud dictu facile est. Crucis sane forma, eam Imperatorum Christianorum temporibus confectam^y, momentumque ejus, semunciam esse, ostendit; quæ grana tantum quatuordecim de pondere antiquo amisit.

	Unc.	Gran.
Litra igitur nostra, seu Libra jam continet	- 11	222
Prima Uncia	- - - 1	46
Secunda	- - - - - 0	424
Tertia	- - - - - 0	321
Drachma	- - - - - 0	55
Duo Scrupuli	- - - 0	42
Uncia plana	- - - - - 0	407
Semuncia	- - - - - 0	205

^o Vid. Le Cabin. de S. Genev. p. 63. Tab. 18. Fig. 1, 5.

^x *Drachma Attica (fere enim Attica observatione Medici utuntur) denarii argentei habet pondus.* Plin. l. 21. 34.

Δραχμή τὸ ὀγδοὺν τῆς ὀνίας. Hesych. in Δραχ.

^x Vid. Le Cabin. ib. Fig. 11.

^y Ibid. —

S E C T. III.

Figura tertia, Aquilæ effigiem æneam, basi quoque æneæ insistentem, præ se fert. Hujusmodi autem Imagunculas, ex auro, argento, aut ære interdum deaurato fictas, signa militum Romanorum præcipua et nobilissima fuisse, notissimum est: quæ hastis nimirum longiustculis impositæ, singulis legionibus, tanquam propria earum insignia, singulæ tributæ erant: quem quidem alitum regem, Josephus, Legionibus Romanis, quasi *imperii symbolum, omenque victoriæ*, præfuisse scribit^a.

Præter Aquilas autem istas Legionarias, cohortes item singulæ, ac manipuli signa sibi propria habuerunt, quæ ex rerum variarum formis, alia super aliam congestis, atque hastæ pariter impositis, constabant. In his, Imperatorum imagines pictæ, et in clypeis singulis inclusæ, principem fere locum obtinebant; quibus Aquila quoque deaurata, et clypeo inclusa, desuper plerumque adjuncta erat; ita ut ex triplici aut quadruplici clypeorum ordine, una cum Aquila superimposita, hæc signa in nummis, sculpturisque antiquis in altum persæpe exstructa reperiantur^a.

Hæ vero Aquilæ et magnitudine et pondere perexiguo fuerint, necesse est, propterea quod hi omnes clypeorum ordines, imaginumque, ut vocantur, suggestus^b, a signifero facile, idque vel una, ut videtur, manu, portari possent: ut ex signiferorum ipsorum figuris, in columnis antiquis incisis, colligere licet^c. At vero Legionarias etiam Aquilas, quæ vel singulæ portabantur, hac nostra figura haud majores multo fuisse, ex Floro discimus, qui insignem eam Variani exercitus cladem, qua tres

^a De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 6. Edit. Haverc.

^b Tertull. Apol. c. 16.

^c Vid. Colum. Trajan. p. 7, 16, 29,

^c Vid. Colum. ib. p. 77, &c.

legiones perierant, commemorans, “signa, inquit, et Aquilas duas adhuc barbari possident; tertiam signifer, priusquam in hostium manus venire, avulsit, merfamque intra baltei sui latebras gerens, in cruenta palude sic latuit.” Quippe perexiguam Aquilam istam fuisse, fatendum est, qui in baltei militaris latebris occultari commode poterat.

Hæc signa militaria, sacrata semper habita esse, Aquilasque præsertim, fulminis ministras, divinis plane honoribus coli solitas, accepimus. Tacitus eas quidem, *propria legionum numina*, appellat^c. *Religio tota castrensis*, inquit Tertullianus, *signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus Deis præponit*^d. Itaque hac religione commotus, *Partiborum Rex, Artabanus, Aquilas et signa Romana, Cæsarumque imagines adoravisse*, traditur^e. Atque hinc in signis istis, facella quædam parvula et fastigiata, Aquilis, ad divinitatem earum indicandam imposita, atque in nummis interdum antiquis expressa videmus^h.

Attamen non in castris modo ac militiæ, sed domi etiam Aquilas hæc in istiusmodi facellis collocatas, et cultas esse legimus: de quo quidem genere, *Aquila ista argentea fuit, cui Catilina sacrarium domi constituisse, cultumque divinum tribuisse* diciturⁱ. Atque hanc igitur Aquilæ nostræ Icunculam, quæ basi, in arulæ plane modum conformata, ad vota quasi excipienda, insistit, ex Aquilis istis sacratis fuisse conjicio, quæ vel in signis militaribus portari, vel domi etiam consecrari, ac numinum instar in Larariis coli solebant.

^d Lib. 4. c. 12.

^e Annal. 1. 39.

^f Tertull. ibid.

^g Sueton, in Calig. c. 14. 5.

^h Vid. Patin in Numm. Constantini et Filior. it. Stewech. in Vegetium, c. 6.

ⁱ Cicer. in Catil. Orat. 1. 9. 2. 6.

S E C T. IV.

Figura quarta, Gutti antiqui, ex ære confecti, effigiem ostendit; vasculi scilicet, ad olea, unguenta, ac liquida quævis pretiosa conservanda, atque ut nomen indicat, guttatim fundenda, inventi. Usus autem ejus in balneis præcipue vigeat: ubi lautiores quique, cum lavati jam, strigilibusque absterfi essent, tum oleo, seu unguento aliquo nobili, ex his vasculis guttatim effuso, inungi solebant.

———*Domus interea secura patellas*
Jam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
Strigilibus, et pleno componit lintea Gutto^k.

Præterea ad sacros item ritus, Guttos adhibitos esse, a Plinio indicatur; qui *M. Curium jurasse*, scribit, *se ex hostium præda nihil attigisse, præter Guttum faginum, quo sacrificaret*^l. Quippe in prisca illa urbis paupertate, nonnisi Guttis ligneis aut fictilibus, vel principes civitatis libamina sua ad Deorum aras ferre solitos, constat.

At vero vasculorum eorundem figuras, in monumentis aru-
 lisque sepulchralibus sæpissime insculptas, reperimus^m: quod quidem Guttos item hosce ad sepulchrorum sacra pertinuisse, atque ad unguenta pretiosa et odorifera in mortuorum cineres fundenda, adhibita fuisse, ostendit.

S E C T. V.

HÆC Pedis ænei figura, de donariorum eorum numero fuisse videtur, quæ ex voto Deorum alicui suscepto, ac

^k Juven. S. 3. 261.

^l Lib. 16. 38.

^m Vid. Boissard. Par. 3. p. 46, 61, 65, 68, &c.

beneficio inde accepto, tanquam grati animi pignus, in Templo ejus suspendi solebant. Hanc enim apud omnes fere gentes opinionem invaluisse accepimus, Deos nimirum donis maxime placandos esse.

*Munera, crede mihi, placant hominesque Deosque ;
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis^a.*

Quamobrem omnes istæ membrorum humanorum imagines, quæ vel fictiles vel ex metallis conflatae, e Templorum veterum ruinis sæpe effossæ atque ad hunc diem conservatae sunt^o, ex hac superstitione originem duxisse videntur ; neque aliud omnino esse, ac dona istiusmodi, quæ, ob membra ista morbo aut dolore aliquo levata, Deorum alicui ex voto dicata fuissent.

Hujusmodi vero donariis, etiamsi Æsculapii potissimum templa, ut supra dixi, referta fuerint, quæ *remediorum salutarium mercedem, ægri sacraverant Deo* ; attamen omnibus promiscue Deis hæc eadem quoque suspensa fuisse, constat : quorum quidem exempla bene multa adhuc extantia, et in libris passim descripta, videre licet. De his autem Pedum imaginibus, Fabrettus tria sane paria marmorea exhibuit, quorum primum *ISIDI. FRUCTIFERAE* dicatum est ; secundum, Deæ cuidam, haud alias memoratae, *QUIE IANAE* ; tertium, nullo omnino titulo insignitum^p.

Bonannius item, Jesuita sane eruditus, tres Pedum figuras, æneam, fictilem, et marmoream edidit, aliasque præterea ex

^a Ov. de Art. Amand. 3. 653.

^o Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 2. l. 4. c. iv. &c. it. Musæ. Kircher. Class. 2. p. 61. it. Thomassin. de Donar. &c.

^p Vid. Fabrett. Inscript. 471, 472—
Bina pariter pedum marmoreorum pa-

ria, in uno lapide insculpta, ab eodem exhibita videmus, cum hac inscriptione ;

LICINIA. PHILETE.
PRO. SALVTE. SVA. ET. SVOR.
D. S. P.

argilla fictas, in Collegii Romani Museo asservari ait, quas omnes vel pedibus laborantium, vel navigantium potius vota fuisse putat, Dianæ seu Veneri suscepta, quam nautæ præsertim, tanquam maris Dominam invocare consueverunt. In cujus rei testimonium, Pedem quoque votivum, eximio opere e succino fictum, adducit, cum hac inscriptione.

D. M.

VENERI. SS. FELICI.

CONSERVATRICI. MATRIQUE. DEVM.

CVPIDINI. COELESTI. C. CAESTIANVS¹.

Hanc vero eandem, de donis tabulisque votivis, superstitionem, Romæ etiam hodie, perinde ac in urbe veteri, vigere, alio quodam libello demonstravi; quod quidem a Bonannio ipso, jam confirmari video; qui de his veterum donariis disputans, eorumque exempla varia proferens, hanc deinde clausulam adjungit; “ Talem Ethnicorum morem etiamnum ubique imitantur, sed veræ religionis significatu, Christi fideles; qui marinis undis jactati, Deiparæ, tanquam propitiæ maris stellæ, opem implorant; ac præsertim in Adriatico, ex quo cum littus tenuerint, non raro nudis pedibus, ad sacram Ædem Lauretanam, peregrinantur sua vota soluturi; ibique in Tabellis pericula expressa relinquunt¹.”

S E C T. VI.

DE Tigridis imagine ænea, quam ultimo loco hic exposui, nihil equidem, quod liquet, dicere habeo. Atta-

¹ Mus. Kircher. p. 68, 69. Bina VRANIAE dicata, idem Bonannius quoque pedum paria, in marmore quodam insculpta, et INVICTE CELESTI¹ Ibid. memorat. p. 78.

mēn quia opere antiquo nec invenuto perfecta esse videtur, ad reliquas Tabulæ hujus figuras eam adjungere libuit, ut locum saltem vacuum implere posset. Hanc bestię rabidæ figuram, ore hiantē, uberibusque pendentibus, quæ clypeum item Gorgonis ore insignitum, conspectui quasi hominum objicit, quum ferocitatem terroremque præ se ferat, ad usum aliquem militarem spectasse conjicerem, nisi quod in bellico Romanorum apparatu, nulla istiusmodi figura, signumve, vel a scriptoribus memoratum, vel in monumentis descriptum reperitur. At vero haud scio, an ad Bacchi forsitan sacra imagunculam nostram respectum aliquem habere credamus; quem quidem Deum Tigribus præcipue domandis celebrem, nec nisi Tigribus junctis, curru vehi solitum cognovimus.

*Jam Deus e curru quem summum texerat uvis,
Tigribus adjunctis aurea lora dabit¹.*

Hanc vero rem aliis, quibus otium majus, aut conjectandi sollertia felicior obtigerit, contemplandam considerandamque relinquo.

T A B U L A XXI.

Gemma hujus Tabulæ prima, Byzantis effigiem præ se fert, a quo urbs Byzantium condita traditur; quemque inter inclytos prisce ævi Heroas a veteribus celebratum invenimus¹. Ætatem ejus nonnulli ad secula plane heroica, atque Argonautarum tempora referunt; quos ad regnum etiam ejus appulisse Diodorus scribit². Alii autem verisimilius, eum

¹ Ovid. De Amand. l. 1. 549.

Græc. Vol. 2. c. 29.

² Vid. Jac. Gronov. Thes. Antiqu.

Megarenſium claffis præfectum fuiſſe dicunt, coloniamque inde ad oræ maritimæ oppidum deduxiſſe, quod antea Lygos, ſed, a conditoris nomine, Byzantium deinceps appellatum eſt ; idque circa Olympiada triceſimam accidiſſe, Joſia ſcilicet Hieroſolymis et Tullo Hoſtilio Romæ regnante, declarant *.

Sed de Byzantis origine atque ætate quicquid ſtatuendum fuerit, Byzantinos certe eum, tanquam urbis ſuæ conditorem ſemper agnoviſſe, effigiemque ejus in nummis ſuis ſignaffe, conſtat. Caninius, inter illuſtrium imagines, Byzantis effigiem, nomenque ſimul in nummo quodam æneo ſignatum protulit ; cui ex altera parte Prora navis inſculpta erat ; quod eum claſſe iſtuc advectum, ac coloniæ deductorem eſſe indicare videtur *. Alterum etiam nummum, huic omnino ſimilem, et Byzantis pariter effigie ac nomine ſignatum, Fulv. Urſinus edit * : quorum quidem uterque cum gemma noſtra mirifice conſentit, eandemque prorſus imaginem exhibet ; eundem oris habitum, *barbam, galeam, et criſtam quoque crinibus deſſluentibus* ornatum : neque alio omnino habitu, Goltzius, Gronovius, Harduinus effigiem ejus, in nummis exhibuerunt, quam tamen diademate ſemel redimitam, Vaillantius ſe viſiſſe declarat †.

Horum igitur nummorum auctoritate, Gemmam noſtram Byzantis imaginem præ ſe ferre, colligimus. Quod Byzas autem, urbis Byzantii conditor, vel ad poſtrema Romani Imperii ſecula, habitus fuerit, a Claudiano diſcimus ; qui in Eutropium conſulem invehens, quod duobus illuſtriſſimis urbis iſtius conditoribus,

* Τὰς δ' Αργοναύτας κατὰ εἶμα τῷ πόντῳ γενομένους, προſπλεῦσαι τῇ γῇ, βασιλεύοντος τότε τῆς χώρας Βύζαντος. ἃ φ' οὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντιῶν ὠνομάθαι. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 252. Edit. Hannon.

* Vid. Geo. Cedren. Compend. Histo-riar. Edit. Par. p. 112. A. it. Stephan. de Urbib. in Byzant. it. Scalig. in Euseb. Chron. it. Plin. l. 4. xi.

† Vid. Canin. Iconograph. Tab. 35.

‡ Vid. Illuſtr. Imagin. Tab. 40.

ille quoque ab adulatoribus, tertius adjungeretur, ita indignabundus queritur ;

quod tertius urbis

Conditor : hoc Byzas, Constantinusque videbunt ?

Sculpturæ denique præstantiam quod attinet ; imago ipsa opere, ut mihi videtur, antiquissimo, atque a Græco olim Artifice, in Achate nitido, eximie insculpta est, ejusdemque prorsus magnitudinis, ac figura ejus ectypa, quam hic delineatam damus.

S E C T. II.

Gemma secunda, et sculpturæ artificio, et lapidis ipsius pulchritudine insignis, Hermaphroditi, opinor, supra pellem caprinam humi recumbentis effigiem nobis offert, cujus brachium dextrum ad arborem alligatum est. Ex altera parte Satyrus, genibus in terram flexis, Hermaphroditi vestem avellere, corpusque denudare videtur ; et perspecto rei miraculo, vel in cachinnum erumpere, vel præ admiratione, ad cælum ora convertere : ex altera parte, Faunus, genibus item flexis, in prodigio eodem contemplando defixus hæret.

Hanc figurarum descriptionem, ad fabulam fortasse aliquam, iis temporibus notam, alludere credamus ; qua Satyrus, Faunusque, pronum in Venerem genus, mulicrem, sub arbore dormientem, se offendisse credentes, eam statim ad arborem, libidine inflati, alligasse, sed corpore demum nudato, Hermaphroditum invenisse finguntur. Notissima illa quidem Salmacis fabella est, de Hermaphroditorum origine ac nomine, quos Ovidius ita describit.

* Claud. in Eutrop, 2. v. 83.

*Nec duo sunt et forma duplex, nec fœmina dici,
Nec puer ut possint; neutrumque et utrumque videntur^a.*

Illud tamen nequaquam fabulosum aut commentitium, ut Valerianus ait, habendum est, “ utriusque naturæ homines inveniri, qui partem inter se utramque peragant; cujusmodi sunt populi, supra Nasamonas, confinesque illis Maclias, Calliphanis testimonio satis cogniti——ubi severa lege cautum, ut quem malint sexum eligant, altero si abutantur, capitali supplicio puniendi^b.”

Quod Hermaphroditi autem, apud omnes fere gentes, atque omni ætate revera extiterint, a scriptoribus antiquis, tam Græcis quam Latinis, memoriæ proditum est. Diodorus eos, inter *humani generis monstra* a nonnullis recenseri, scribit; raro in lucem editos, et interdum mala, interdum bona portendentes. *Quid ortus Androgyni, inquit Cicero, nonne fatale quoddam monstrum fuit?* Plinius dein, *gignuntur, inquit, et utriusque sexus, quos Hermaphroditos vocamus, olim Androgynos vocatos, et in prodigiis habitos, nunc vero in deliciis^c.* Quippe statuas eorum e marmore fingere effigiesque in gemmis insculpere solebant, quarum quidem duas, antiquo opere atque eximia arte fictas, vel hodie etiam extantes, alteram Romæ in Villa Borghesia, alteram Florentiæ, in nobilissimo Etruriæ Ducis Museo vidi; utraque sane inter præstantissima sculpturæ veteris monumenta merito numerandas; Florentinam autem istam, e Pario marmore fictam, qui in hisce rebus intelligunt Hermaphroditum illum nobilem esse credunt, quem Plinius Policlis opus esse declarat^d. At non antiquorum modo testimoniis, sed exemplis aspectuque ipso, hac nostra ætate, Hermaphroditos esse

^a Ovid. Metam. l. 4. 378.

nov. it. Cic. De Divin. l. 1. 41. it. Plin. Hist.

^b Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 18. p.

Nat. l. 7. 3. vid. etiam xi. 49.

135.

^d Plin. ib. 34. 8. Vid. etiam Muscum

^c Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 215. Edit. Ha-

Florent. a Gorio edit. Tab. 40, 41. Her-

cognovimus. In oppidis enim nostris ex Africa nuper hominem vidimus, qui signa utriusque sexus propria, in se plane conjuncta habuit; ita tamen, ut neuter eorum perfectus, sed eo penitus modo confusus apparuerit, quem ab Ausonio descipulum legimus.

*Concretus sexu, sed non perfectus utroque;
Ambiguæ veneris, neutro potiundus amorî.*

Gemma nostra ex eo Onychum Arabicarum genere esse videtur, quas Plinius *nigras* esse dicit, *candidis zonis*^f. Quasque Itali hodie Nicolos et Cameos vocant. Quippe lapis ipse niger, vena quadam candida, quasi zona cinctus est, e qua imagines ipsæ exsculptæ finguntur^g.

S E C T. III.

Gemma tertia, Parthorum Regis cujusdam imaginem exhibet; eo plane habitu atque insignibus ornatam, quibus Principes isti, cum in gemmis, tum in nummis insculpti cernuntur^h. At vero aliam quoque huic nostræ confimilem et fere eandem, Baudelotium in lucem antea edidisse video: quam, perinde ac nostram, in Achate litteris Parthicis inscripto, et in anuli formam confecto, insculptam, atque omnium, quas in

riaphro itorum quoque imagines in Gemma insculptas, in alio ejusdem Musei volumine videre licet. Tab. 82. item inter Gemmas a Dominico Rossi Romano editas. Vol. 3. Tab. x.

^f Epigr. 100.

^g Hist. Nat. 37. 6.

^h In gemmis hisce, quibus strata seu vena diversis coloribus erant, hoc antiquis tantissimum esse cognovimus, ut stratum

lapidis nigrum, fundi sive radicis loco usurparent, et in vena deinde candida figuras plerumque totidem, quot commode excipere poterat, cælando effingerent: ita ut opus ipsum, e nigro candidum exsurgens, eminentius pulchriusque ob colorum varietatem, appareret.

^h Montfauc. Antiqu. V. 3. l. 2. c. 14. it. Supplem. V. 3. l. 2. c. 1.

eo genere viderat, pretiosissimam pulcherrimamque esse declaratⁱ.

Medorum equidem Parthorumque veterum Reges, vestium Regalium splendore, ornatuque pœne fœmineo, omnium maxime, gavisos constat. Nam faciem, oculosque pigmentis illinere, comasque ascititias, in cincinnos varios contortas, *inaures, monilia et armillas* gestare solitos legimus: ita enim Xenophon, *Astyagem Medum, atque ita fere Plutarchus Surenam, Parthorum ducem* describit; eumque ornandi morem Parthos a Medis accepisse dicit^k.

Quod Parthorum autem Regum imagines in gemmis sæpe ipsculptæ essent, atque eo prorsus habitu, quo ipsi revera ornari folerent, ex Plinio discimus: qui ad Trajanum e Bithynia scribens, “ se servulum quendam apud se tenere dicit, qui a Pacoro, Parthiæ rege aufugisset, secumque gemmam attulisset, quæ Pacori imaginem, et quibus insignibus ornatus fuisset, insculptam habebat: gemmam autem ipsam, aut vi aut furto a Servulo ablatam, Plinus se requirere ait, ut eam ad Trajanum mitteret^l.” Itaque gemmam nostram, non tam ob sculpturæ pulchritudinem, qua sese tamen facile commendare posset, quam ob rei ipsius raritatem, æstimabilem esse, constat: quippe quam Romæ olim uti videmus, Proconsules ipsi possidere cupiissent, dignamque, quæ ad imperatorem muneri mitteretur, existimassent.

ⁱ Siquis, inquit Baudelotius, *litteras Parthicas in hac gemma inscriptas explicare posset: eas lucis certe aliquid ad gentis Parthicæ historiæ allaturas, necesse est.* [Utilité des Voyages. V. 1. p. 309] Sed litteras istas, tanquam deperditas plane, atque inexplicabiles ab eruditis censerī reperio. [Vid. Montfauc. Supplem. ibid.] Neque

pauculas sane istas in gemma nostra incisas, si explicabiles essent, aliud omnino quidpiam, ac Regis ipsius nomen, indicaturas fuisse arbitror.

^k Vid. Xenoph. de Cyri Institut. p. 19. Edit. Oxon. et Plutarch. in Vita Crassi. p. 537. F.

^l Epist. l. x. ep. 16. Edit. Elsev.

S E C T. IV.

Gemma quarta, Prusæ, Bithyniæ Regis caput, opere antiquo in Carneola eximie insculptum præbet. Principis hujus effigiem, inter Illustrium imagines a Fulv. Ursino collectas, in nummo quodam argenteo impressam cernimus; quam Jo. Faber, qui imagines istas commentario illustravit, se in aliis quoque nummis, una cum Prusæ ipsius nomine, itemque in gemmis anularibus insculptam vidisse declarat^m.

Tres istiusmodi nummos, Prusæ nomine inscriptos, Bege-
rus ediditⁿ. Qui diversis licet temporibus, atque a diversis ci-
vitatibus percussi, omnes tamen similitudinem quandam inter
se, ac eundem oris habitum ostendunt; nostramque ideo
gemma nonnisi Prusæ imaginem exhibere confirmant.

Res ejus gestæ ab Historicis plerisque celebrantur. Sed non
tam ob bella, victoriasque contra alias gentes, celebris, quam
propter obsequium erga Romanos fervile atque abjectum, in-
famis erat. Natura sane versatilis, crudelis, atque infidus esse
traditur: qui Hannibalem, jam senem admodum, atque ad se
profugum, ni veneno sese prius ipse occidisset, Romanis tradi-
turus esset^o. Antiocho enim devicto, et Perseo Macedone,
cujus sororem in matrimonio duxerat, captivo Romam ducto,
Romanorum potentiam usque eo extimuisse fertur, “ ut pilea-
“ tus et capite raso obviam ire Legatis, libertumque se Populi
“ Romani dicere soleret; et Romæ quoque quum veniret in
“ curiam, summittere se, et osculo limen curiæ contingere;
“ et Deos servatores suos, senatum appellare^p.

^m Vid. Fulv. Ursin. Imagin. 119. et
Fabri Comment. p. 69.

ⁿ Thesaur. Brandeb. Vol. 1.

^o Liv. l. 39. 30.

^p Liv. l. 45. 41. Appian in Mithridat.
prope init.

Appianus eum *facie illiberali, ac statura pusilla* fuisse scribit⁹. At sculptores isti veteres, quorum ars, perinde ac Pictorum, ornatiora fere omnia, ac pulchriora, quam natura ipsa fert, reddere solet, in gemma etiam nostra, jure suo usi sunt, venustumque eum potius quam deformem finxerunt. Quippe faciem ei juvenilem ac barbatulam hic tributam cernimus: qua quidem barbula, sed pro diverso ætatis gradu, paullulum interdum crassiore, in nummis, opinor, omnibus insignitus apparet.

S E C T. V.

GEmmam quintam, Sexti Chæronensis, Plutarchi Nepotis, effigiem exhibere conjicio. Philosophi enim potius quam Imperatoris imaginem præ se ferre videtur; et nummum etiam antiquum, consimili plane effigie signatum, Sponius in lucem edidit, cui litteris Græcis, *SEXTI* nomen inscriptum est; quod ad Sextum omnino Chæronensem, M. Aurelii Præceptorum, referendum esse contendit; idque ex nummi ipsius fabrica, barbæque etiam forma confirmari arbitratur¹.

Neque mirum sane censeri potest, quod in Sexti hujus memoriam nummi post mortem ejus percussi essent; quem tanto in honore apud Imperatorem illum fuisse accepimus, ut *una jus dicere soleret*². De hoc autem Sexto viros doctos inter sese disceptare video, an idem cum eo fuerit, qui Empiricus dictus est, cujusque opera adhuc nonnulla restant. Sed Chæronensem nostrum ab Empirico prorsus diversum, neque Pyrrhoniæ, ut Suidas censet, sed Stoicæ sectæ addictum esse constat; quod

⁹ App. ibid.

¹ Miscel. Erud. Antiqu. Sect. 4. p. 140.

² Vid. Suid. in Sexto. a L. Vero quo-

que M. Aurelii in Imperio socio, Sextus noster unice dilectus esse dicitur. Capitolin. in L. Vero. c. 2.

cum a Capitolino¹, tum ab Imperatore præsertim ipso significari videtur; qui ea omnia enumerans, quæ a Sexto didicisset, hoc quoque adjungit; “quod neque iracundiæ, neque ullius
“ omnino perturbationis indicium edere, sed istiusmodi affectibus penitus immunis, suorum tamen omnium amantissimus
“ esse deberet.” Quod quidem præceptum nonnisi e Stoicorum scholis manasse perspicuum est.

S E C T. VI.

Gemma sexta, Omphalis effigiem, Herculis insignibus ornata, ostendit. Omphale enim, oris sui forma, Herculem ita subegisse, ac jussis suis obsequentem reddidisse fertur, ut clavam ejus pellemque leoninam ipsa sibi fumens, cum colo et calathio ac cultu muliebri instructum, in triumpho quasi ducere soleret. In quam quidem fabellam Poetas sæpe veteres illudentes invenimus.

Ipsa capit clavamque gravem, spoliūque leonis^m.

Cultibus Alciden instruit illa suis^x.

Thraso etiam iste Terentianus, quum Thaidi sese submittere constituisset, ita se excusat;

Qui minus huic, quam Hercules servivit Omphali¹?

Sed hæc Omphalis historia pervulgata sane atque a Poetis fere omnibus celebrata est²: itaque hoc tantum adjungere libet;

¹ In M. Aurel. c. 3.

² Vid. M. Aurel. de rebus suis. l. 1. c. 9.

³ Ovid. Fast. 2. 325.

⁴ Ib. 315.

⁵ Eunuch. Ac. v. 8. 3.

⁶ Ab Ovidio fuscè exposita est, in Deia-

niræ Epist. v. 100. Ejusque imago, his ipsis insignibus ornata, cum in Græcorum veterum nummis, tam in gemmis etiam persæpe insculpta reperitur. Vid. Beger. Thef. Brandeb. V. 1. 100. it. Thef. Palat. 274. it. Domenich. Rossi. Gemm. V. 2. Tab. 101 &c.

hanc ejus effigiem in Carneolo pulcherrimo, atque opere antiquo, in sculptam esse.

S E C T. VII.

Gemma septima, Matidiæ Augustæ caput exhibet, quæ Marcianæ, Trajani sororis filia fuit, atque Augustæ cognomen Senatus consulto obtinuit; Trajanumque deinde avunculum, una cum Plotina uxore, ad Parthicum bellum comitata est. Duas ea filias reliquit, Matidiam et Sabinam, Hadriano postea Imperatori nuptam; qui Socruī divinos honores tribuisse, atque *aromatica populo, anniversario parentalium die*, donasse traditur^a. Nummi in honorem ejus percussi in rarissimis numerantur; omnes vero quos mihi videre contigit, eundem plane oris habitum, comarumque ornatum, ac quem in gemma nostra cernimus, præ se ferunt^b; quem quidem ætatis ejus consuetudini congruentem esse, ex statuis eorum temporum muliebribus apparet^c. Quarum comæ, veluti a Poetis describuntur, in altum ita exstructæ erant, ut mulieres ipsæ a fronte quam a tergo altiores conspicerentur.

*Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis,
Post minor est: credas aliam^d,*

Matidiæ autem imagines in nummis utcunque raræ, in gemmis tamen rariores esse videntur: nam præter hanc unam, haud aliam uspiam, vel in libris descriptam, vel in Museis asservatam me vidisse memini. Hoc ejus caput in lapide Prasio,

^a Æl. Spartian. in Adrian. c. x. et 19.

^b Vid. Vaillant. Patin. Beger. Vol. 2. 653. &c.

I. O. M.

^c Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. l. 1. c. 12.

CAESIA. F. F.

^d Juven. S. 6. 501.

MAXIMA

— Celsæ procul aspice frontis honores

SACERDOS

Suggestumque comæ — Stat. Sylv. 1. 113.

DIVAE

MATIDIAE.

feu Smaragdite, insculptum est; quem Itali vulgo Prasma, nonnulli Smaragdi matrem appellant.

S E C T. VIII.

Gemma octava, Faustinae senioris, Antonini Pii uxoris imaginem, in Carneola insculptam præ se fert. De qua Capitolinus, “ tertio, inquit, anno imperii sui Faustina uxorem perdidit: quæ a Senatu consecrata est, delatis Circensibus atque Templo, et Flaminiciis, et statuis aureis atque argenteis.” In nummis, quorum plurimi adhuc restant, Faustinae hujus imago hoc eodem capitis ornatu semper fere instructa cernitur; capillis nimirum in orbiculos varios, supra verticem capitis, eleganter admodum convolutis.

S E C T. IX.

Gemma nona, Mercurium, symbolis suis omnibus fere instructum, præfert; Virga scilicet, alis, marsupio, ariete, et Gallo Gallinaceo. Virgam ad usus sane varios ab eo adhibitam legimus: hac enim somnos vel inferre vel adimere, animasque vel ad Inferos deducere vel evocare solebat.

*Tum Virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes; alias sub tristia tartara mittit;
Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat*.*

Hanc ipsam Virgulae formam, serpentum mutuis amplexibus ornatam, germanum Antiquorum caduceum fuisse legimus; quo Legati nimirum, ad pacem inter hostes conciliandam missi,

* Cap. 6.

* Virg. Æn. 4. 242.

* Tu pias letis animas reponis

Sedibus, virgaque levem corceas

Aurea turbam—Hor. Od. l. 1. x.

instructi semper incedebant^s. *Hic complexus anguium*, inquit Plinius, *et efferatorum concordia, causa videtur esse, quare exteræ gentes caduceum in pacis argumentis, circumdata effigie anguium fecerint*^h. Hæc igitur Virga, veluti proprium caduceatoris symbolum, Mercurio Deorum nuntio, attributa est: quem Ovidius caduciferum; Arnobius; *affabilem Colubrarum gestatorem*, appellatⁱ.

Hinc se sustulerat paribus Caducifer alis^k.

Alæ autem illi datæ esse putantur, non quia *Jovis nuntius aut caduceator*, sed quia *lingua celeri ac prompta, vocisque potens erat*^l: utque nihil *sermone velocius* esse, indicaretur. *Pennas*, inquit Isidorus, *habere fingitur, quia citius verba discurrunt, alasque ei in capite et pedibus significare, volucrem ferri per aera sermonem*^m. Hinc verba etiam ipsa ab Homero, *alata* appellanturⁿ.

Mercurium deinde ei, tanquam negotiantium Deo, lucrique conficiendi auctori, tributum est; ita enim apud Plautum ipse munera sua describit.

*Nam vos quidem id scitis concessum et datum
Mibi esse ab aliis Diis, nuntiis præsim et lucro*^o.

Atque in eundem sensum Inscriptiones quasdam antiquas, MERCVRIO NEGOTIATORI ac NVNDINATORI, dicatas invenimus^p.

^s "Ο Φορεῖν ἐκβάσιν οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τὰς λόγους ποιούμενοι, καὶ διὰ τὰς τυχεύειντες παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσφαλείας.

Diod. Sic. l. v. 341. Edit. Han.

^h Hist. N. l. 29. 3.

ⁱ Con. Gent. l. 4.

^k Ovid. Met. 2. 708

^l Scimus autem Mercurium vocis et

sermonis potentem. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 1.

^m Isidor. Orig. l. 8. xi.

ⁿ Ἐπεα πτερόεντα. Odyss. 1. 122.

^o Amphit. Prol.

^p Gruter. p. 55. Reines. Class. 1. 80.

Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇς εὐπορίας κέρδη πρῶτον ἐπινόησαι.

— Diod. Sic. ibid.

Aries quoque in Gemmis hīscē ei sēpe adjunctus est; quo pecudis istius curam quandam prācipuam eum gerere significatur; hinc Hesiodus eum, *pecus omne in stabulis, animo volenti augere*, declarat; *bovm armenta, caprarum, oviumque lanigerarum greges*⁹. Pausanias item statuari ejus æneam, in via qua ad Lechæum Corintho ibatur, positam esse dicit, cui *aries oppositus erat, quod greges ille omnium maxime tueri atque augere existimabatur*^r.

Gallum denique Gallinaceum, veluti excubiarum et vigilantiae symbolum, ei quoque sacrum esse cognovimus^t; ut avis scilicet hujus admonitu, negotiatores prācipue omnes intelligerent, se non sine industria ac vigilantia Mercurium sibi propitium reddere, lucrumque acquirere posse. Lapis ipse Amethystus est; quem quidem nonnulli, ingenium industriamque hominibus addere crediderunt^t. Atque ob eam fortasse causam a priscorum istorum superstitione haud alienam, Mercurium nostrum in hac potissimum gemma insculptum esse conjicere licet.

S E C T. X.

Gemma decima, miram quandam figurarum quasi confusionem exhibet; hominis videlicet faciem, seu personam Scenicam, Pavonem, Sceptrum, Elephantem: quid autem Elephas proboscide sublatum teneat, haud mihi sane per-

⁹ Εσθλη δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ ληϊδ' αἰξεῖν
Βυκολίας' ἀγέλας' ἢ αἰπόλια πλάττει
αἰγῶν,
Ποίμνας' εἰροπέκων οἶων, Συμῇ γε
Δίλυσσα. Theog. 444.

^r Ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν ἢ αἰξεῖν ποιμένας, &c. l. 2. c. 3.

^t Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 1. l. 1. c. 8.

^t Vid. Gemmar. Hill, edit. ab Adanson. Toll. l. 2. c. 34.

spicuum est. Huic autem Gemmæ, alias quasdam confimiles prorsus, et in eruditorum Museis asservatas, et in libris sæpe descriptas animadverti : quæ quidem omnes symbolicum, ut aiunt, seu ænigmaticum quiddam continere, judicantur. Faciem certe illam, viri docti Socratis effigiem esse declarant : eamque cum figuris istiusmodi conjunctam, nonnulli in Amuletorum eorum numero reponunt, quæ vim quandam magicam habuisse credebantur^u. Alii vero, quod probabile magis videtur, Gemmas hujus generis omnes ad Socratis memoriam celebrandam, inventas esse, atque in ejusdem honorem, in anulis gestari solitas, existimant^v.

Etenim caput istud *calvum fronte turgida, naso simo, aspectuque taurino*, Socratis proculdubio imaginem præ se fert ; quem Silenis Satyrisque perfimilem accepimus^x. Quippe de hae Socratis persona, Alcibiades, in Symposio Platonis, sermonem satis longum habere fingitur, in quo, cum permulta in vultum ejus Silenicum jocatus esset, ita demum progreditur ; “ at vero nescio, Convivæ, an aliquis unquam vestrum imagines eas perspexerit, quæ in animo ejus, seria tractantis et sese penitus aperientis, lateant : ego profecto eas aliquando perspexi, quæ mihi quidem ita divinæ atque aureæ, et pulchræ mirabilesque visæ sunt, ut quicquid jubeat Socrates, id illico faciendum statuerim^y.” Quocirca haud scio, an lapidis hujus figuræ ad eum ipsum sermonem respectum aliquem habeant ; quodque Alcibiades ibi verbis, hoc idem, Gemma nostra figuris indicare reperiatur.

Etenim vultus iste, ut dixi, Silenicus, os Socratis exhibet ; reliquæ vero figuræ, *imagines eas divinas pulchrasque*, quæ in

^u Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Rossi. Vol. 2. Gemm. 20, 21.

^x Platon Oper. Vol. 3. p. 216, 221. Edit. Par.

^v Vid. Jo. Chifflet. de Gemmis Socratis imagine calatis, p. 18.

^y Ibid. p. 216.

animo ejus latuisse dicuntur. Pavo nempe, avium pulcherri-
ma, virtutis ejus pulchritudinem denotat; Sceptrum ejusdem
majestatem, dignam quæ omnibus imperet; Elephas, eam ani-
mi firmitatem roburque, quò cunctis mortalibus præstitit.
Atqui hac pariter ratione, Gemma hæc Philosophica, non ad
Socratem modo celebrandum, ex quo omnes Philosophorum
sectas manasse constat, sed ad Stoicorum doctrinam illustran-
dam præcipue spectare judicetur; qui sapientem scilicet, omni-
bus virtutibus artibusque instructum, solumque formosum,
fortem, ac Regem etiam esse, prædicabant.

*Si dives, qui sapiens est,
Et futor bonus, et solus formosus, et est Rex.
Sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
Est Opifex: sic Rex solus².*

Vultus enim Socratis, sapientem indicat: quem pavo formo-
sum; elephas, fortem, sceptrum, Regem esse declarat.

S E C T. XI.

Gemma item undecima, prorsus symbolica est; in qua
primum globulum; deinde ex eo quasi exurgens, Cor-
nu-copiæ; tum Gallum, in fruges a cornu oblatas invadere
paratum, videmus. Hæc eadem Galli imago in aliis etiam
gemmis sæpe insculpta reperitur; gubernaculo interdum, aut
cornu-copiæ insistent; aut Mercurio, ut modo ostensum est,
tanquam symbolum adjuncta. At vero soli quoque perinde ac
Mercurio, Gallus sacer erat, quia solis nempe ortum cantu nun-

² Hor. Sat. I. 1. 3. v. 124, 132.

¹ Ἰλίσ δὲ ἱερὸν φασὶν τὸν ὕμνῳ, καὶ ἀγγέλλειν ἀνιῶναι μίλλετον τῇ ἱλίσ. 1.
5. c. 21.

*Quinetiam Gallum, noctem explaudentibus alis,
Auroram clara consuetum voce vocare^b.*

Hunc enim Veteres naturæ solaris, omnium animalium maxime, participem esse crediderunt; *excitandis in opera mortalibus, somnoque rumpendo genitum; qui nec solis ortum, uti Plinius ait, incautis patitur obrepere^c.* Hinc effigiem ejus, tanquam excubiarum symbolum, Mercurio supra adjunctam vidimus, ut Mercatores, in lucro conficiendo, vigiles atque alacres esse admonerentur: cui consentaneum sane illud est, quod ab hac etiam gemma indicari videtur; scilicet *e terra, quam globulus iste denotat, nonnisi hominum industria ac vigilantia, abundantiam, frugumque copiam procreari posse.*

S E C T. XII.

DUodecima, Caput nobis sane incognitum, in lapide opaco, salignei coloris, insculptum, offert: figura autem ipsa, ex capitis ornatu, et sculpturæ genere, Ægyptiæ cujusdam mulieris, seu Dææ potius, effigiem esse conjicerem: Etenim simulachra Isidis nonnulla, opere Ægyptiaco, et eodem plane ornata, a Kircherō exhibita cernimus^d.

S E C T. XIII.

DECIMA tertia, opere etiam antiquo atque Ægyptiaco esse apparet: at quale nobis alitis genus exhibeat, haud ita certum est. Eandem plane avis formam, in Obelisco Pamphilio, sæpius descriptam animadverti; quam Kircherus, Hie-

^b Lucret. l. 4. 714.

^c Hist. N. x. 21.

^d Vid. Kirch. Oedip. Ægypt. Tom. 3.

498, 500.

roglyphicorum istorum interpretes diligentissimus, Ibim cirratam appellat¹. Nostra autem avis ex anserum potius, anatumve genere esse videtur: sculptorque profecto, si Ibim in animo fingendam habuerit, nonnisi imperite aut negligenter eam finxisse censendus est. — Avis autem ipsa, floresque itidem hinc inde enascentes, item ac in alio lapide supra vidimus, e vena, seu zona candida, cui Achates nitidus substratus est, exsculpuntur. At vero in gemmis ejusmodi omnibus, sculptoris ingenium coarctari, nec quid ipse velit, sed quid venæ istius natura admittat, fingere omnino, necesse est: ita ut opus ipsum, venustum licet ac speciosum, raro tamen exquisitum, atque omni parte, absolutum reperiamus.

S E C T. XIV.

Gemma decima quarta, Lapis Chalcedonius est, cærulci coloris, rotundus, globulique ad instar dimidiati convexus, cui litteris majusculis ac quadratis inscribitur, TRIVM-
PHVS QVADORVM; quem, Romæ olim repertum, una cum reliqua mea rerum veterum supellectile, inde deportandum curavi: in pomparum sanc Triumphalium descriptionibus, phalerarum interdum *frenorumque equinorum, auri bullis, gemmisque nitentium*, splendor luxusque a scriptoribus celebrantur;

Dumque auro phalææ, gemmis dum frena renident².

Atque hinc lapidem nostrum ad frenorum Triumphalium ornatum pertinuisse conjicio: nam ad triumphi usum aliquem adhibitum eum fuisse, inscriptio declarat; atque ad frenorum præcipue decus, res ipsa ostendere videtur. Quippe in foramen,

¹ Obelisc. Pamphil. p. 489. 493.

² Claudian. Epg. 20. de zona equi Regi.

T A B U L A XXII.

quod, per centrum lapidis ductum, vacuum jam apertumque restat, claviculum olim quendam, capite forsitan aurato, insertum fuisse, arbitror, qui lapidem ipsum cum frenis connecteret^g.

M. Aurelium, de Marcomannis, Sarmatis, Vandalis, Quadiisque etiam triumphasse legimus^h: At vero in numismate quodam antiquo, maximi moduli, Numerianum, Quadrigis Triumphalibus vectum cernimus, cum hac eadem epigraphe, TRIVMPHVS QVADORVMⁱ. In cujus triumphî memoriam, numisma istud percussum fuit: atque in ejusdem etiam ornatu, lapidem olim nostrum comparatum esse probabile est: quod litterarum item ipsarum forma, a perfecta scribendi ratione nonnihil immutata, atque istorum temporum consuetudini accommodata confirmare videtur.

T A B U L A XXII.

HÆC Mumia Ægyptiaca, de qua jam dicturus sum, ab homine nobili, Georgio Townshend, navis bellicæ in classē Regia præfecto, in Angliam haud dudum deportata, atque Academiæ Cantabrigiensi donata est. Qui nativa quadam in hanc Academiam benevolentia commotus, nihil habuit antiquius, quam ut hoc insigne *κειμηλιον*, ac vetustatis fere ultimæ monumentum, tanquam perpetui hospitii pignus, in ea musarum sede collocaret, quam pater ejus, vir summus, beneficiis ornaverat; quamque fratres, fratrumque filii, moribus, studiis, exemplisque jam præsentibus ornant.

^g Sed ad alium quoque usum hic lapis adhiberi potuisse videtur; scilicet, ut statuæ fortasse alicujus in triumpho portatæ paludamentum aut lacernam fibulæ vice humero annecteret: quod quidem gemma

aliqua aut lapide pretioso fieri solitum esse, ex statuarum militarium ornatu conjectare licet.

^h Jul. Capitolin. c. 17.

ⁱ Vid. Numism. Max. Mod. 246.

In hac autem Mumia describenda, mihi quidem, neque de antiquo isto cadavera condiendi ritu, neque de hodierno eorundem statu, neque de cryptis eis subterraneis et mirabilibus, in quibus olim reposita, atque hodie reperta sunt, differere propositum est: etenim ista omnia a rerum Ægyptiarum interpretibus, atque a peregrinantibus præsertim accurate descripta, et in multis libris exposita habemus; ad quos lectorem omnino referendum censeo^k. Quamobrem nihil mihi aliud jam relictum videtur, quam Mumiae nostræ effigiem, atque ornatum hominibus curiosis in conspectum dare, et quicquid in ea singulare, præcipuumque fuerit, illud quam breviter exponere atque illustrare.

Hæc igitur Tabula, Mumiae thecam seu loculum, figuris quibusdam symbolicis atque Hieroglyphicis pictum exhibet: in quo cadaver scilicet, Ægyptiorum more, bitumine, balsamis, atque aromatibus conditum, repositum erat. Loculus vero ipse nihil fere, a ceteris ejusdem generis diversum, nobis offert. Ex duabus ligni Sycaminei partibus constat; utrisque in eum modum artificiosè excavatis, ut inter sese deinde conjunctæ, cadaveris ipsius formam ac magnitudinem justam capere, et ab omni æris accessu ac damno conservare possent. Atque hoc loculorum genus, ob conficiendi pingendique artificium, omnium sane pretiosissimum, nec nisi nobilioribus ditioribusve dicatum traditur.

Hujusmodi vero loculi, non ad corporis modo figuram excipiendam intus accommodati, sed extra quoque ad defuncti ipsius effigiem ac similitudinem ita conformati erant, ut facies ex ligno efficta, et coloribus item picta, germanam ejus imaginem præ se ferret. Quos quidem loculos, ita ornatos atque instructos, Ægyptii non modo in sepulchris magnifice exstructis,

^k Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. it. Itinera Petri de Valle, Thevenot, I.e p. 387. Syntagm. XIII. De Mumiiis.— Brun, Shaw, Pocock, Perry —

sed domi etiam in conclavibus ad eum usum consecratis, ordine quemque suo erectos, ad parietem collocare consueverunt¹. In quo munere fungendo, duplicem illi sane finem spectasse videntur; primum, ut debitos mortuis honores cultumque præstarent; deinde ut ambitioni et familiæ splendori consulere-
rent; ac vetustas hæc majorum suorum imagines, feriemque longam ac nobilem posteris traderent^m.

In his defunctorum imaginibus, seu Mumiarum loculis quiddam oblongum atque acuminatum, barbæ quasi loco, a mento plerumque pendere videmus: quod tamen a nullo, quantum memini, Mumiarum harum interprete, vel explicatum, vel omnino memoratum animadverti. Quicquid autem fuerit, non ad barbam certe exprimendam adhibitum esse, liquet; quia figuris promiscue omnibus, cum fœminarum et virorum, tum Deorum etiam, hoc idem affixum reperitur: quod quidem non nisi symboli vice appositum esse, sensumque aliquem reconditum habuisse, perspicuum est. Bonannius, auctor sane eruditus, qui Ægyptiorum Idolorum figuras quasdam, hoc eodem symbolo instructas, exposuit, illud Perseæ folium esse dicitⁿ; arboris, Ægypto propriæ, ac Isidi præcipue consecratæ; atque ad omnes ideo solennitates pompasque sacras adhibitæ: cujusque effigiem in obeliscis, mensa Isiaca, reliquisque Ægyptiorum monumentis sæpissime incisam, observare licet^o. *De stirpibus Ægyptiis*, inquit Plutarchus, *Perseam omnium*

¹ 'Οι προσήκουσες ποιῆναι ξύλων τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ ἐσεργυνῶσι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ καὶ ἀκακλήσαντες ἔτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκίῳ αἱ θηκάω, ἱσάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. ἔτω μὲν τὰς τὰ πολυελέσια σκευάζουσι νεκρῶς. Herod. I. 2. c. 66.

Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos et eos servant domi. Cic. Tuscul. Quest. I. 45.

^m Διὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐν οἰκί-

μασι πολυελέσι φυλάττουσι τὰ σώματα τῶν προγόνων καὶ ὅψιν ὀρώσι πρὸς γενεαίς πολλαῖς τῆς ἐαυτῶν γενέσεως προϊελευσήκοτας. &c. Diod. Sic. I. 1. p. 82.

ⁿ Museum. Kircher. p. 34.

^o Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 129, 130. it. Obel. Pamphil. p. 360, &c.

maxime Ifidi sacram esse aiunt, propterea quod fructus ejus cordis, et folium linguae speciem præ se ferat^p. Si hæc igitur rei interpretatio admittenda est, haud alio consilio Ægyptii, folii hujus figuram Mumiiis hisce affixisse, videntur, quam ut Isidem facilius conciliarent, atque ad cadaverum horum tutelam allicerent.

Ex hac loculorum ornandorum inventione, et sculpturæ et picturæ origo deducta, atque in alias gentes derivata esse videtur: apud Græcos enim, quos artium suarum primordia ab Ægypto duxisse constat, statuz istæ Hermææ, omnium proculdubio antiquissimæ, quarum nonnullæ etiam hodie extant, ad loculorum horum formam modulumque plane effictæ esse apparent: Quippe nihil aliud erant, ac Deorum hominumve capita, trunco ligneo aut lapideo oblongo, atque a summo ad imum leniter decrefcenti, imposita. At vero Græcorum ingenium acre intra has sculpturæ angustias haud diu coarctari potuit; sed naturam ducem sequens, reliqua quævis corporis membra, e marmore pariter fingere, atque ad vitæ ipsius similitudinem, omnesque ejus actiones et gestus summo artificio accommodare cœpit. Ægyptii contra, rei licet hujus inventores, at priscam tamen cam artis simplicitatem, vix unquam penitus deseruisse videntur: nam etiamsi corporis humani formam, membris suis omnibus instructam, perinde ac Græci, e ligno aut lapide accurate satis exprimere didicissent, at gestum ei liberum aliquem aut naturalem haudquaquam tribuere poterunt; sed Mumiarum suarum exemplaria in animis usque tenentes, statuis suis brachia, lateribus fere adhærentia, pedesque prorsus conjunctos, et quasi fasciis colligatos, affingere solebant.

Mumiæ hujus figura eadem prorsus est, ac reliquarum omnium, quas in libris passim descriptas videmus. Siquidem

^p De Ifid. et Ofrid. p. 378. c.

asphalto, balsamis, aromatibusve condita, et multiplici linteorum, fasciarumque ordine, alio super alium, a capite usque ad pedes involuta erat; atque hæc deinde involucra, alio rursus velamine, sive tunica linea, puchre depicta, et Deorum, bestiarum, symbolorumque formis variis ornata, penitus obtegebantur. Dentes ejus omnes in maxilla superiore firmiter adhuc inherentes reperiuntur: quod vero singulare et prodigii fere loco habendum, anteriores seu incisores, non acuti illi quidem atque ad incidendum apti, sed perinde ac maxillares, lati plane atque obtusi sunt. At vero ex hoc omni apparatu, ac condiendi diligentia, nihil fere intra loculum jam integrum restat, præter calvariam et ossa, atque integumentis superioris particulas quasdam, imaginibus pictis insignitas, quas in proxima Tabula descriptas damus. Reliquæ quævis corporis partes, una cum balsamis, fasciis, involucris, vetustate jam absumptæ, atque in pulverem ac putredinem redactæ sunt. Egregium sane vanitatis Ægyptiæ monumentum! quæ cum Deo ipso pugnare, artificumque inventa naturæ legibus opponere; ac corpus humanum e pulvere excitatum, atque in pulverem reversurum, ab interitu conservare præ se ferebat.

Amicus meus, supra laudatus, Guilielmus Heberden, M. D. hanc cadaverum Ægyptiorum condituram, haud tanto quidem artificio, neque tanto aromatum apparatu, quanto curata esse traditur, revera effectam fuisse putat. Etenim si vel aromata, prisca istis temporibus cognita, vel cadavera ipsa, Mumiasve, ut dicuntur, considerabimus, simpliciore quanda operis peragendi rationem, nec nisi pauca admodum medicamenta adhibita esse intelligemus.

Maxima unguentorum veterum pars nihil aliud erant, ac olea, in quibus herbæ seu flores odoriferi infusi essent: quæ, ad cadavera Ægyptiorum more condienda, haud multum valere potuerunt

potuerunt. Aromata vero, pretiosa saltem ista, atque ad hunc usum accommodata, in India solummodo ultima nascuntur, nec in Ægyptum facile deportari possent: quorum pleraque etiam veteribus istis incognita esse apparent, propterea quod nec a Medicis nec Physicis antiquis memorata sint. Diodorus tamen Cinnamomum in hoc condiendi munere usurpatum esse scribit¹: at Cinnamomum, Cleopatrarum ætate, inter pretiosissima gazarum regiarum κειμήλια recensitum, atque una cum auro, smaragdus, et margaritis, a Regina ista jam moritura, in monumento suo repositum legimus²: quod usum certe ejus rarissimum, nec Pollinctoribus istis familiarem fuisse, ostendit.

Myrrha tamen, quæ in Æthiopia, atque Opobalsamum, quod in Arabia nascitur³, in hoc fortasse ritu usurpari possent. Sed Opobalsamum, ob raritatem pretiumque ejus, haud magna copia, aut vulgò adhibitum esse, probabile est. At vero ex Mumiis omnibus, quæ jam extant, quæque a peregrinantibus descriptæ sunt, perspicuum fere videtur, nullum omnino medicamento genus, præter Asphaltum, seu bitumen merum, quod in multis lacubus fluitans reperitur, vel resinam quandam e cedro stillantem, in hac conditura locum habuisse.

Joannes Nardius, medicus in primis celebris, quum multas hujusmodi Mumias, e fasciis suis evolutas, examinasset, ac summa diligentia dissecuisset, se nihil prorsus, præter Gummi seu Asphalti glebularum quasdam concretas invenisse dicit⁴. Neque aliud item quidquam Pocockius noster, peregrinator curiosus atque eruditus, in Mumiis istis, quas perscrutatus est, se animadvertisse declarat⁵. Mumiam denique nostram, pretiosissima

¹ L. 1. p. 82. Edit. Hanov.

² Vid. Kircher Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3.

³ Plutarch. in Vit. M. Anton. p. 950. p. 397.

Edit. Paris.

⁴ Vid. Pocock Travels l. 5. c. 5.

⁵ Vid. Prosp. Alpin. de Balsamo.

licet condiendi ratione curatam, nullum tamen aromatum, odorumve genus, præter bitumen merum redolere aut exhibere invenimus.

Quod vero de Cadaveribus hisce Diodorus scribit, nimirum tanto ea artificio semper condita fuisse, ut *pristinam hominis cujusque effigiem speciemque singula retinerent, et vel palpebrarum ac superciliorum pili integri manerent*^u; nequaquam verum esse potest, sed de loculo potius cadaveris quam de cadavere ipso intelligendum; quippe cadaver multiplici fasciarum integumento, a capite usque ad pedes ita penitus involutum erat, ut nulla ejus pars omnino conspici posset.

Herodotus contra, hanc rem ita plane, ut gesta erat, exponere videtur. “Cerebro enim visceribusque detractis, cadaver per dies septuaginta nitro penitus mersum jacuisse dicit; carnemque ita omnem a nitro isto maceratam absumptamque esse, ut nihil præter cutem atque ossa relinqueretur^x.” Quippe nitri ejus Ægyptiaci naturam, eandem esse cognovimus ac salis ejus, quod ex herbarum perustarum cineribus effici solet, cujus ea quidem vis est, ut carnem facile quamlibet absumere queat. Atque hoc profecto ex Mumiis, quæ jam restant, omnibus, verum esse confirmatur; quæ nihil aliud esse videntur, ac germani hominum sceleti, piceo quodam liquore aut bitumine illiti, fasciisque pice item illitis involuti^y.

Atque hinc perspicere licet, quam vana ac futile, de virtutibus Mumiarum medicis, opinio ista fuerit, qua tanquam omni aromatum genere onustæ, ac medicinarum omnium valentissimæ per gentes venditabantur. Qua quidem fama inductus

^u Vid. Diodor. ibid.

^x L. 2. c. 86. Ed. Lond.

^y Vir eruditus atque ingeniosus, Tho.

Shaw D. D. *nihil fere carnis, partiumve muscularium* in Mumiis hisce reperiri dicit.

See *Travels into Ægypt*. p. 424.

Gallorum Rex, Franciscus primus, nullum unquam iter, absque Mumiae frustulis quibusdam, suscepisse fertur ².

Quinetiam Herodotus, cadaverum horum cerebrum per nares extrahi solitum, scribit ³. Sed haud tantam a Pollinctoribus istis diligentiam, corporisque lacerandi religionem adhibitam esse, credibile est. Nam Mumiae nostrae caput abscissum fuisse apparet; cujus ea pars, quae cum collo ac vertebrae conjuncta fuisset, gypso jam penitus oblita reperitur: quumque cerebri adeo per occipitis foramen extrahendi, via longe commodior data esset, hanc eos potissimum secutos esse, verisimile videtur. Calvaria item, quae medicamentis repleti solita traditur, in hoc tamen cadavere vacua prorsus relicta est.

Pocockius, fascias Mumiarum lineas, *putridas semper atque adustas* reperiri ait, idque *calidae seu ustivae aromatum naturae* adscribit ^b; quae tamen nullam istiusmodi vim habere certissimum est. Haec igitur fasciarum adustio ac putredo vel vetustati tribuenda, vel inde potius provenisse putanda est, quod in bitumen fortasse liquidum ac fervens immerse fuissent. Herodotus enim, fascias hasce gummi illitas esse, narrat ^c. Attamen nonnullae fasciarum nostrarum particulae, quae intus, ut videtur, a bituminis istius vi ac calore remotae latuissent, colorem adhuc pristinum et nativum fere retinent.

Ob has potissimum rationes, Vir ille ingeniosus, quem honoris causa modo nominavi, Pollinctores Aegyptios, vasrum hominum genus, quo artem suam extollerent, de sumptu ejus atque apparatu magnificentiora longe, quam res ipsa ferebat, praedicare solitos, existimat.

² Hoffman, de Medicam. Officin.

³ Herodot. ibid.

^b Herodot. ibid.

^c Vid. Pocock's Travels ibid.

T A B U L A XXIII.

IN hac Tabula, integumentum Mumiae exterioris particulam, variis figuris ornatam, cernimus; quae de pectore cadaveris ad genua pertinuerat; quaeque a pulvere ac sordibus purgata, coloribus adhuc vividis et quasi recentibus nitescit. In summa picturae parte, cadaveris secandi et condiendi ratio a pictore quodammodo adumbrata est: in qua tamen Anubis, Aegyptiorum Deus, capite canino, medici partes agere, et secandi munus obire videtur. A sinistro cadaveris latere, ut Diodorus scribit, *loco prius a scriba juxta ilia designato, carnem lapide acuto Aethiopico secare*, vel lege vel more constitutum erat¹: atque in hac positura Anubis, manu jam ad secandum sublata, depictus est.

Sed et mensa quoque, cui cadaver impositum est, itemque vascula ista infra mensam posita, in Deorum item formas, Canopi et Cercopitheci, efficta esse apparent: quibus figura etiam muliebris, hinc et inde adjuncta, Isis fortasse ipsam, quasi operis totius praesidem, denotat. Qua quidem figurarum designatione, hanc cadavera condiendi ac conservandi artem, divinam plane esse, nec nisi Deorum inventioni attribuendam, indicari conjicio.

Quod autem memorabile magis videtur; instrumentum istud, quod Anubis, jam corpus dissecturus, manu tenet, germanam lapidis ejus Aethiopici effigiem exhibet, quem, cultelli semper vice, ad hoc munus adhibitum esse legimus; cujus sane

¹ Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 82.

formam a nullo, quod sciam, auctore veteri descriptam habemus.

Hieroglyphicas figuras quod attinet, cum omnis earum intelligentia jam diu deperdita ac deplorata plane videatur, ignorantiam potius meam confiteri libet, quam aliorum conjecturas, ingeniosas licet, at vanas certe coactasque adoptare. Illud solummodo verisimile esse puto, quod a Kircherō, in rebus Ægyptiacis investigandis, omnium diligentissimo, traditum est. Figuras videlicet istiusmodi omnes, quales, ex utraque tabellæ hujus parte, in variis ordinibus sive zonis collocatæ, ac sibi mutuo obversæ stant, Deorum illorum imagines esse, qui Averrunci præcipue, seu malorum propulsores habebantur^e; quorumque tutelæ Ægyptii mortuos suos potissimum commendare consueverunt: quosque flagellis propterea, laqueisque instructos videmus, ut malos Dæmones, in defunctorum corpora insultare conantes, vel abigere vel colligare possent^f.

S E C T. II.

PRæter integumentum linei particulam istam modo descriptam, aliud quoque ejusdem fragmentum restat, ad pedes fere Mumie pertingens, at unica tantum imagine insignitum, quam in hac etiam Tabula expressam videmus. Hanc

^e Infra hanc Sex Averranca Numina intra tres zonas ponuntur, quorum custodiæ corpus commissum est; 'uti laquei, quos manibus tenent, quibus adversarum potestatum vim ligare dicuntur, monstrant, &c. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 413.

^f In imo figurarum harum ordine, duo canes flagellis instructi pinguntur; quos in alia item Mumia, eodem fere modo de-

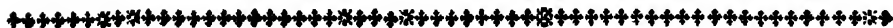
pietos Kircherus protulit, atque ita interpretatur. "In tertia zona, inquit, duo canes occurrunt, flagellis instructi, quibus Anubici seu Mercuriales Genii indicantur, quorum vigilantie corpus commissum indicabatur. De quibus, in Obelisco Pamphilio, consule Hierogrammatismum de cane." Kircher. Ibid. p. 416.

autem Osiridis imaginem esse puto ; quem, tanquam supremum mundi Opificem ac Rectorem ab Ægyptiis veneratum esse constat ; ut globus ; capiti ejus impositus, indicare videtur ; quo quidem symbolo, in Obelisco pariter Flaminio, Osiris instructus reperitur¹. Hujus igitur effigiem, ob eam, quam diximus, causam, in Mumie nostræ integumento, atque augustiori sane forma, depictam esse, credibile est ; ut hunc quoque, summum Deum, perinde ac Numina ista Averrunca, ad cadaveris custodiam attraherent.

¹ Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 236, 237.



D E
M E D I C O R U M
A P U D
V E T E R E S R O M A N O S
D E G E N T I U M C O N D I T I O N E
D I S S E R T A T I O;
C O N T R A V I R O S C E L E B E R R I M O S
JAC. SPONIUM & RICH. MEADIUM, M. D. D.
S e r v i l e m a t q u e i g n o b i l e m e a m f u i s s e
O S T E N D I T U R.



D E
M E D I C O R U M
 A P U D
V E T E R E S R O M A N O S
 Degentium Conditione
D I S S E R T A T I O, &c.

VESPERI nuper cum Amici aliquot in Bibliothecam meam pro more coissemus, sermones cum familiares, tum eruditos etiam fortassè in noctem usque producturi ; cumque unà, pro copia illa quam Cantabrigia nostra facilè suppeditat, ex singulis ferè Scientiis docti aliqui adessent ; posteaquam, ut in congressu solemus, novi quicquid vel in re literariâ vel publicâ evenerat, in commune singuli contulissemus ; Medico quodam, qui ex Collegio Regali convenerat, viro in primis probo atque erudito, nonnulla fortè de Variolis apud nos tunc grassantibus interrogato ; paucisque inde de variâ curandi Methodo disputatis ; ad Medicinam sensim labi sermo, inque Artis ipsius præmiis & honoribus, Collegiique præcipuè Londinensis famâ & celebritate totus versari cœpit.

Tum ego ; quàm vero, inquam, diversa est apud nos rei Medicæ facies, ac Romæ olim fuit, ubi ignobilis per tot secula, atque abjecta Ars ipsa jacuit, non nisi à Servis atque extremæ fortis hominibus tractata ; quamque tanquam illiberalem ac
 Cive

Cive prorsus indignam, de Romanis quidem nemo attingere sit dignatus? Hic autem Medicus noster subridens, haud credidisse se, inquit, prisca illa, ac obsoleta planè quorundam commenta fidem adhuc apud ullos invenire; quæ sæpius confutata, doctorum plerique tanquam vana & futilia jam diu repudiaffent; quæque *Meadius* ipse, Medicorum longe Princeps, oratione quadam Londini haud dudum habitâ, mera esse opprobria demonstraverat, omnemque illam servitutis infamiam à *Medicis* prorsus in *Chirurgos* amoverat.

Ego vero, *Meadii* licet Autoritate gravitè commotus, cujus quidem Orationem necdum videram, ne tamen quæ dixeram, temerè planè, nulloque Auctore effutisse viderer, haud destitit alia sane multa in eandem sententiam differere, & nonnulla Veterum testimonia, quæ memoriæ tunc suppetebant, plura etiam ex schedulis pollicitus, ad causam, quam susceperam, confirmandam adducere: neque dicere dubitavi, *Meadium* ipsum duplicitèr planè labi videri; primùm, quòd *Medicos olim Romæ liberos esse & ingenuos*; deinde, quòd *Chirurgos à cæteris Medicis distingui omnino & segregari* putaret; cum Utroque communi cum nomine, tum conditione apud Veteres Romanos usos semper esse certissimum esset.

Producta adeo paulatim hac nostrâ disputatione, & familiaritèr admodum, ut inter Amicos, ultro citroque pluribus verbis agitatâ; interfatus demum *Juris Civilis Professor Regius*, Vir summâ modestiâ, parique eruditione; mihi se planè assentire dixit; propterea quod apud Veteres Jurisperitos in *Servorum familiis Medicos semper recenseri* animadvertisset; * quibus tamen

* *Servis* autem & *Ancillis* majoribus decem annis, si sine arte sint, viginti solidis æstimandis; sin autem *Artifices*, ad triginta solidos æstimatione eorum proce-

dente. *Notarios* quinquaginta solidos æstimari, *Medicos* autem & *Obstetrices* sexaginta. l. 3. Cod. Commun. de legat. &c.

is honos habitus; ut in *Servis familiam ducerent*; ac in Mancipiorum venditionibus cæteris omnibus *pluris aestimarentur*. *Cibirurgos* autem quod attinebat; haud credere se, a *reliquis Medicis* antiquitus eos sejungi; at contra; quasi ii potius pro Medicis soli essent habendi; non meminisse aliam in Jure Civili Medicorum fieri mentionem^b, ac eorum, qui *manu curare*, seu *secare* consueverint.

Bakerus denique noster, qui colloquiis hisce nostris, non interesse solum, sed pro illa, qua præstat omnibus, Antiquitatis cognitione, præesse etiam solebat; cum opinioni meæ, suæ etiam sententiæ pondus, tanquam cumulum quendam adjecisset; tum instare omnes; ut hanc totam quæstionem, levitèr jam ac fortuitò inchoatam, accuratiùs ipse tractandam atque ad finem perducendam susciperem; quæque memoritèr tunc disputaram, quæque ex schedulis plura promiseram, in ordinem, quam primùm per otium liceret, redigerem, atque alio aliquo conventu nostro recitanda proponerem. Horum itaque Autoritati obsecutus, ea omnia, quæ ad hanc causam pertinere, totamque complecti videntur, collegi statim, atque in hanc, quæ sequitur, perpetuæ dissertationis formam conjeci.

Apud veteres Romanos Medendi artem non solum minùs excultam, sed ne cognitam quidem esse, ex Monumentorum omnium silentio suspicari fas est. Cum enim alia omnia, quæ ad vitam, cultumque civilem pertinent, accurate legibus descripta, atque egregie sint constituta; nihil tamen in omni Civitatis temperatione, de Medicina unquam, vel à Regibus, vel à Consulibus institutum, aut præceptum reperitur: Nec per plura deinceps ab Urbe condita secula, ullius unquam Medici fama,

^b Si Medicus Servum imperitè secuerit, vel ex locato, vel ex lege Aquilâ competere Actionem. l. 7. §. f. ad leg. Aquil.

nomenve memoriæ traditur; vel artis quidem ipsius ulla ferè à Scriptoribus fit mentio. Neque mirum sane raram ibi rei fieri mentionem, cujus rarum fuisse usum necesse fit; apud homines scilicet, summa temperantia educatos, summisque laboribus exercitatos; quorum valetudini, uti ait *Valerius Maximus*^c, quasi *quædam mater erat frugalitas, inimica luxuriosis epulis*. Eadem quippe causa, nimirum vitæ victûsque tenuitas, Urbem & Medicis & Morbis simul vacuam servabat; dum *illos* nec præmiis, nec quæstûs spe ulla allicere paupertas civium valebat; atque *his* parca illa vivendi ratio omnem quasi materiam præci-dens, medendi planè usui superfedebat. Nobilium interea ple-rique valetudinis tuendæ disciplinam quandam in suâ quisque familiâ instituisse videntur, ut *Cato Senior* apud Plutarchum^d, cum magno Medicorum omnium contemptu, gloriatur, se oleribus, carnibusque ad concoquendum facilioribus, suam suo-rumque valetudinem conservare solere.

In hoc rerum statu Rempublicam sine Medicis ad sexcen-tesimum usque annum floruisse narrat^e Plinius; qui tamen haud ita accipiendus est, quasi neminem omnino per tot secula Medicinæ operam dedisse asseruisset; quum Medicos, quales-cunque tandem ii fuerint, diu ante Romæ extitisse, & multi Auctores sint^f, & ipse quidem *Arcagathum* quendam artem ibi antea exercuisse meminit^g: itaque hoc solum significasse intelli-gendus est; nullum illis temporibus Romanos habuisse Medi-cum, qui artis peritiâ, vel nominis famâ inclaruerit; artemque ipsam interea jacuisse penitùs, nullo loco aut honore habitam,

^c Lib. 2. c. 5.

^d In vita Cat.

^e Hist. Nat. l. 29. c. 1.

^f Peste Romæ circiter annum 301. grafsante, Medicos ægris curandis non sufficere meminit Dion. Halicar—it. Plaut.

Rud. 5. 3.

G R. Quid tu, num Medicus quæso es?

L A. Immo edepol una litera plus sum, quam Medicus. GR. Tum tu Mendicus es.

^g Ibid.

nec nisi à Servis & extremæ fortis hominibus administratam: quos fere omnes à Græcis, (qui magnam Italiæ partem, Siciliamque tunc omnem tenebant) aut bello captos, aut pretio emptos, aut fugitivos denique esse verisimile est: quum in Græcia Medicorum servulos, dominos confectando^h, ægrosque simul obeundo, Medendi sæpe artem didicisse, atque exercuisse certissimum est.

Horum autem nonnulli libertatem tandem, seu Dominorum grātiâ promerenda, seu pretio dato adepti, officinas plerumque ad operam suam, artisque instrumenta publicè vendenda conducere solebant, quas *Medicinas* Plautus vocatⁱ; quasque perinde ac tonstrinas, conciliis, cœtibusque otiosorum frequentari solitas docet. Servos enim ex pecunia illa, quam de demenso suo parcendo, geniumque defraudando corradere sæpe solebant, libertatem haud rarò emisse constat^k: qui verò artem ullam habebant, omnium certè facillime peculium sibi, lucrumque quoddam adventitium, Dominorum concessu, ad emendam libertatem conficere poterant: quod Medicis præcipuè accidisse, dum eos tamen inter infimos hominum recenset, indicare videtur Seneca^l: qui divitias in bonis nequaquam esse numerandas contendit, propterea quod ejusmodi bona *in Arte medendi bumillimis quibusque* contingere videmus.

Quum verò Græcia tandem, & Asia subactæ, Imperioque adjectæ essent; tum luxu inde omnia, deliciisque Romæ diffuere; Græcorumque artes in Urbem introductæ priscam illam vitæ disciplinam simplicitatemque omnem corrumpere; Principesque viri tum primùm Græculos undique servos, artibus instructos, & Medicinæ præcipuè peritos, qui et valetudini &

^h Κατ' ἐπίταξιν τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κλῶνται ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱατρῶν. Plato l. 4. 834.

ⁱ Amphit. 4. 1.

^k Plaut. Rud. 4. 2. It. Senec. Ep. 80.

^l Senec. 85.

luxuriæ simul ministrarent, conquirere sibi ac omni studio coemere cœperunt: neque Procerum posthac Divitumve domus ulla *Medicis Servis* vel pluribus vel singulis ad minimum caruisse videtur; quorum deinceps in manibus Medendi Ars, ac provincia ferè omnis versata est. Medicorumque adeò numerus dum in Urbe magis indies crescebat, rarò tamen adhuc de Medicina ipsa, ejusve Professoribus, tanquam de re humili & abjecta nimis, apud Auctores mentio occurrit: neque præter *unum Arcagathum* cuivis unquam Medico ante J. Cæsaris ætatẽ, jus Civitatis datum reperio: primusque, ut opinor, circum idem tempus *Asclepiades quidam*, Medendi arte celebris fuit; qui cum Rhetor primò fuisset^m nec remedia nossset, quum Rhetoricam tamen sibi minus quæstuosam invenisset, ut sagaci erat ingenio, ad Medicinam se convertit, ac famam inde magnam atque auctoritatem adeptus, in Cicconis deinceps amicitiamⁿ & familiaritatemⁿ est receptus.

Romæ interea tanto semper in dedecore ars tota jacuit, ut *solam eam Græcarum artium*, magno licet fructu proposito, *Romani gravitate suâ indignam*^o judicarint; *paucissimique illi Quiritium*, qui quæstu vix tandem allekti, eam non nisi sero attigerint, tanquam *ad Græcos transfugæ* habebantur. Apud illos bellicæ virtutis laus & splendor primum semper locum obtinuisse, primamque ad gloriam commendationem præbuisse videtur; qui vero in toga potius, foroque versari, & pacatiora sequi studia maluerunt, *alii*, ut ait Cicero^p, *se ad Philosophiam*; *alii ad jus Civile*, *alii ad eloquentiam applicuerunt*. Hisce se Artibus ingenuus quisque exercuit; hisce solis viam sibi ad opes, famam, honores patefecit: quem vero unquam Romanorum ad Medicinam sese applicuisse, quemve Civem ex eo studio laudem & glo-

^m Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. 2. it. 26. 3.

ⁿ Cic. de Orat. l. 1. 14.

^o Plin. lib. 29. 1.

^p De Offic. l. 1. 32.

riam reportasse legimus? quod tamen *ordini, cui convenit* (servis utique & libertis) *honestum esse, Cicero ipse agnoscit*^q. Neque mirum sane, veteres illos, qui liberalium Artium tractationem ad servos minimè pertinere arbitrabantur^r, atque ab iis prorsus studiis, quibus ipsi dare operam solebant, servos legibus arcebant^r, Medendi Artem a servis omnino occupatam, atque administratam, tanquam *illiberalem ac sordidam* rejecisse.

Haud tamen negandum est, quin cum servulis hisce Medicinam exercentibus, alii quoque sese conjunxerint *Græculi esurientes*, qui quæstûs causâ e Græcia Romam effluerint, liberæ fortasse, sed humilis certe atque abjectæ conditionis; quippe gens illa omnis tanto Romæ in contemptu habita est, ut nomen ipsum *Græcus*^t, tanquam contumeliosum quiddam & opprobrii plenum, jactitare plebs atque in ore habere solebat: Hos vero omnes J. Cæsar^u, ut *Urbi bellis Civilibus exhaustæ frequentiam pristinam redderet, Civitate donavit*. Atque hæc prima Medicis ad honores janua patefacta; hoc primum iis dignitatis fundamentum jactum videtur; qui apud alios deinceps Principes gratiâ sæpe valentes, opibusque inde & variis immunitatibus aucti, ex servili atque ignobili statu, ad honestum tandem; atque ex tenebris illis & obscuritate in lucem paulatim & splendorem quendam evaserunt. Artem autem ipsam, magnis licet privilegiis munitam posthac atque ornatam, vix unquam tamen, ut mihi videtur, inter liberales censeri; contra vero; apud Jurisperitos a Studiis^w liberalibus distingui semper & sejungi reperio.

^q Ibid. 42.

^r 'Ου χρεὶ ποτὶ ἄνδρα δούλον ἐντὶ ἐλευθέρων γνώμας διακείν. Eurip. Antiop.

^t Servum hominem causas orare leges non sinunt. Ter. Pher.

^u Plutarc. in vita Ciceron. p. 863.

^w Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 42.

^w Sed etsi Salarium alicui Decurione, decreverint; et puta, si ob liberalem autem fuerit constitutum, vel ob Medicinam. l. 4. de Decret. ab ordin. faciend. it. exceptis, qui liberalium Studiorum Antislites, sunt, & qui medendi curâ funguntur. l. 1. Cod. de Decret. Decur.

Atque hæc jam, quæ de Medicis Romæ degentibus exposui, non conjecturâ modò probabilia, sed vera omnia ac certa plane esse, ex constanti Auctorum omnium fide comprobari facile potest: Quamvis enim, ut supra dixi, per prima illa ab Urbis ortu secula, altum quasi de re tota sit silentium; ex consequentium tamen seculorum Scriptoribus plurima, nec illa quidem obscura, suppetunt testimonia, quæ sententiam meam prorsus confirmant; neque cuiquam certe dubium erit, quænam in prisca illa Urbis & Civium paupertate Medicorum fuerit conditio; cum florente jam, opibusque omnibus affluente Republica, ignobilem eam, servilemque plane fuisse apparuerit: ad rem itaque probandam accedamus.

Pervulgata quidem est illa de *L. Domitio* Historia^a; quem Corfinio capto, ne in Cæsaris potestatem veniret, *Medico servo* suo imperasse legimus, ut venenum sibi daret: expertum tamen Victoris clementiam, *Medicum* statim *manumisisse*, quod prudens minùs noxium temperasset. Cleanthem quendam, Catonis *Medicum* & *Libertum*, Domini manum obligasse^r, atque intestina moribundo reposuisse, vulnusque consuisse Plutarchus narrat: Augustus magna quadam annonæ caritate, servitiorum partem, exceptis *Medicis* & *Præceptoribus*, ex Urbe expulisse à Suetonio dicitur²: exstatque ejusdem Principis epistola, ad *Agrippinam neptem* his verbis scripta³: *Mitto præterea cum eo ex servis meis Medicum, quem scripsi Germanico, si vellet, retineret. Antonium etiam Musam* (quem liberum Sponius^b ingenuumque fuisse existimat) Medicorum fere omnium celeberrimum, *Annulo aurco* & *Statuâ æreâ* publice donatum; Augusti tamen *Servum* & *Li-*

^a Sueton. Nero, c. 2. Plut. in Vit. Cæs.

^a Id Calig. c. 8.

724.

^r In vita Cat.

^b Spon. Recherches curi d'Antiquité Dissert. 27.

² In Aug. c. 42.

bertum deinde fuisse ex *Dione* discimus^c. Primus ille *Musa* Balneorum usum improbasse, & frigidâ omnino ægros demersisse dicitur; eandemque hanc valetudinis tuendæ rationem ab eo sibi præscriptam meminit Horatius^d.

Apud Jurisperitos etiam, multæ sæpe occurrunt de *Medicis*, tum *Servis*, tum *Libertis* propositæ quæstiones. *Medicus libertus quod putaret, si liberti sui Medicinam non facerent, multo plures imperantes sibi habiturum*, postulabat, ut sequerentur se, neque opus facerent. Id jus necne^e? ubi ex voce illa, *imperantes*, abjectæ Medicorum conditionis indicium quoddam elicere possumus; quum *Medico imperare* à Veteribus dici solere videtur pro Medicum adhibere, seu advocare: Sed non opus est plura Auctorum testimonia colligere, remque satis claram auctoritatibus onerare, quæ magna sane copia suppetunt; extant & Marmorum antiquorum Inscriptiones bene multæ, ad hanc ipsam quæstionem pertinentes, quarum paucas modo, ad Argumentum meum plenius illustrandum, ex Grutero apponendas duxi.

Θ. Κ.

Τ. ΑΙΑΙΟC

ΑCΚΑΗΠΙΑΔΗC

CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ

ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC

ΙΑΤΡΟC

ΛΟΥΔ. ΜΑΤ.

ΧΕΙΡ.

335-

M. RVFRIVS. M. L.

FAVSTVS. MEDICVS

IIII VIR AVG.

464.

CHIRESTE. CONSERVÆ

ET. CONIVGI

CELADVS. ANTON.

DRVSI. MEDICVS

CHIRURG.

&c. 581.

EROS

AVGVSTÆ

MEDICVS 581.

SPOSIANVS.

EVTYCHVS. AVG. LIB. NERONIANVS. MEDICVS. LVDI.

MATUTINI 335.

^c πν γαρ ἀπελεύθερος. Dio ex Edit. *Me facit invisum, gelida quum perluor unda*
H. Steph. p. 73. ^d Epist. l. 1. 15. *Per medium frigus.*

Nam mihi Baias

^e Lib. 26. Princip. de oper. libert.*Musa supervacuas Antonius & tamen illis*

Talibus

Talibus monumentorum veterum, atque Auctorum confirmata testimoniis, constans semper de servili apud Romanos Medicorum conditione opinio invaluit: primus eam, ut opinor, in dubium vocare conatus est If. Casaubonus, in Animadversionibus suis in Suetonium.

Sponius deinde, Antiquitatis quidem ipse scientiâ excellens, Medicus tamen, artique suæ nimium favens, opinionem hanc tanquam *vanum quoddam Robortelli commentum* irridet^f, omnemque servitutis indignitatem, a *Medicis* in *Chirurgos* atque *Ocularios* ridicule satis transferre conatur. Meadius denique noster, Sponium omnino sequens, magnificentius tamen, & gloriosius omnia de Arte sua prædicat. Casaubonus enim Medicos licet non omnes, at plerosque tamen e Servorum numero, neque ullos quidem Romanos, sed Græcos plane omnes fuisse fatetur: Sponius in hoc præcipue elaborat, ut a Servis ad proximum Libertinorum ordinem medendi artem evehat, atque uno quasi gradu altiore ponat: Meadius autem nihil omnino servile, nec humile quidem Medicis ascribi patitur^g; sed in libertatem omnes, ac ingenuitatem simul asserit; Chirurgo solummodo, tanquam servile pecus, atque extremæ sortis homines, libere nobis lacerandos propinans. Sed quibus tandem Argumentis hi tanti viri ad probandum utuntur, operæ pretium erit considerare.

Casaubonus quum animadvertisset *Medicum* quendam^h quem J. Cæsar a prædonibus captus, secum habuisse a Suetonio dicitur, *amicum Cæsaris a Plutarcho*ⁱ appellari; aliosque itidem Artem illam profitentes Principum Virorum amicitia nonnumquam ac familiaritate usos esse; ejusmodi homines, quibus

^f Spon. Recherches Curieuses d'Antiq. Dissert. 27. It. Miscellanea. Erudit. Antiq. Sect. 4. p. 141.

^g Mead. Oratio Harveian. p. 8.

^h Animadvers. in Sueton. p. 8.

ⁱ In vita J. Cæs.

tantus honos habitus esset, *Servos* fuisse suspicari, tanquam ridiculum credituque absurdum arguit: hoc cum ille, tum post eum Sponius, argumento maximè utitur. Sed miror non animum attendisse Viros doctissimos, *amicorum cohortes* in plures gradus & ordines à Magnatibus segregari solere^k; ut Lampridius de Alexandro Severo loquens, *tantæ eum moderationis fuisse scribit*, ¹ *ut amicos non solum primi & secundi loci, sed etiam inferioris, ægotantes viseret*. Neque mirum videri debet, non mōdo Libertinos sed & *Servos* etiam, in *inferiorum Ordinum amicis* interdum numerari; cum meminerimus, quam benignè quamque familiariter istius fortis homines, qui fide & ingenio præstarent, vel à Principibus Viris tractari essent soliti.

Brutus ad Ciceronem scribens^m, *Glyconem*, inquit, *Medicum Pansæ* diligentissimè tibi commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem de morte *Pansæ*, custodiri ut *Parricidam*; nihil minùs credendum; est modestus homo & frugi — rogo te & quidem valde rogo, &c. quis jam Medicum illum, Bruto tantopere carum & familiarem, *amicum Bruti* vocare dubitaret, qui tamen *Pansæ Cof. Servus*, aut saltem *Libertus* erat? Ciceroni autem ipsi nihil unquam *Servo suo Tirone* dulcius aut carius fuisse, epistolæ suæ ad eum missæ satis declarant: ob cujus tandem manumissionem gratias ei per litteras Q. Cicero frater agensⁿ, *Gratissimum*, inquit, *miki fecisti, cum eum indignum illa fortunâ, nobis Amicum, quàm Servum esse maluisti*: tanquam nihil aliud esset Manumissio, quàm è servitute in amicitiam Domini transitus: hoc au-

^k Consuetudo ista vetus Regibus, Regesque simulantibus populum amicorum describere: apud nos primi omnium C. Gracchus, & mox Livius Drusus instituerunt segregare turbam suam, &c. Senec.

de Ben. l. 6. 33. It. de Clemen. 1. 10 It. Sueton. Tiber. c. 46.

¹ c. 20.

^m Epist. ad Cic. 6.

ⁿ Cic. Ep. fam. ad Tiron. 6.

tem Medicis præcipuè & Præceptoribus contigisse, ut in *Amicos* *facile transirent* testatur Seneca ;^o quibus scilicet Artesipsæ, quas profitentur, Dominorum gratiæ promerendæ hominibusque beneficio obligandis omnium maximè sint opportunæ. Sed quid tandem ad amorem Domini erga servum significandum gravius esse potest, quam Inscriptio publicè dicata ? hujusmodi autem vetustam quandam exhibet *Turrius*,^p Aquileiæ repertam, quàm summus, uti videtur, *Coloniæ Magistratus Servo suo Medico* posuisset.

P H A E B I A N O
S E R.
M E D I C O
F A B I A N U S
C O S.

Hanc *Inscriptionem*, inquit Auctor celeberrimus, *ægris oculis vidisset Sponius, qui à Servorum abjectâ conditione Medicos vindicare conatus est*. In notissimâ denique illâ de Pyrrho Rege historiâ ; hominem illum, qui Fabricio Consuli, si de pretio conveniret, veneno Regem necare promisit, *Medicum* Plutarchusⁿ ; *Amicum* Gellius^q ; *Famulum* autem *Regis* Claudianus vocat^p : quæ tamen omnia tum inter se consentire, tum sententiam meam confirmare, ex supra dictis facillè patere arbitror.

Sponium quod attinet ; multum ille quidem sese efferre atque exultare videtur, quod Medicorum unus aut alter *Ciceronis*, *Cæsaris* vè *Amicus* esset nominatus : quod quam leve totum sit, ac futile, nihil necesse est pluribus ostendere. Ut vero diligens admodum erat Antiquitatis omnis Investigator ; in Monumen-

^o De Ben. l. 6. 26.

^p Philip. a Turre Monumen. Vet. Antij. p. 361.

^q In vita Pyrrhi. p. 396.

ⁿ Noët. Att. 3. 8.

^f De Bello Gild. 271.

tis tamen veterum perſcrutandis idem ille quidem facere videtur, quod ii omnes ſolent, qui certis quibuſdam deſtinatiſque ſententiis ſeſe addixerint ; ea videlicet, quæ opinionibus ſuis præjudicatis favere quoquo modo credant, rapere undique & in partes ſuas torquere, alia verò omnia negligere facilè aut celare. Sed ut Argumentationis ejus vim omnem complecti facilius, & comprehendere queamus ; inſcriptionum quarundam veterum, quibus præcipuè cauſam ſuam evincere, contrariamque refellere conatur, maximam partem huc quoque transferendam curavi.

I.

M. L A T I N I V S

M E D I C V S

O C V L A R I V S.

II.

M. A L L I V S. P A M P H I L V S

M E D I C V S.

&c.

III.

C. CALPVRNIVS. ASCLEPIADES

PRVSA. AD. OLYMPVM. MEDICVS

PARENTIBVS. ET. SIBI. ET. FRATRIB.

CIVITATES. VII. A. DIVO. TRAIANO

IMPETRAVIT. &c.

IV.

ILLVSTRIVS. TI. CAESARIS.

AVG. SER. CELADIANVS

MEDICVS. OCVLARIVS.

V.

M. FONTEIVS
NICANDER
MEDICVS.

VI.

L. ANNIVS. CASSIVS. MITHR
ADORVS. MEDICVS. &c.

VII.

L. ARRVNTIO
SEMPRONIANO
ASCLEPIADI
IMP. DOMITIANI
MEDICO. &c.

VIII.

TI. CLAVDIVS. IVLIANVS
MEDICVS. CLINICVS. COH. III.
PR. FECIT. VIVOS. SIBI. ET.
TVLLIE. EPIGONE. CONIVGI.
LIBERTIS. LIBERTABVSQ;
CLAVDIIS. &c.

IX.

P. CHARM.
SOSTHE.
MEDIC.
IMM. VIR. AVG.

Hiscæ pauculis Inscriptionibus, inquit Sponius, *destrui potest ridiculum Robortelli commentum; qui asseruit, Romæ tantum servos Medicinam exercuisse. Etiam si etenim in Inscriptione, Illustrius Tib. Cæsaris servus fuerit Medicus; observandum est, addi Ocularius; sicque potius Obirurgum quàm Medicum fuisse. At in aliis lapidibus Medici soli ingenui, aut liberti, &c. quorum ultimus vero, præterquam ingenuus fuit, sextumviratus dignitate ornatus observatur.*

De primâ autem illâ inscriptione, *literas, M. L.*; quæ Latinii nomen sequi debuissent, *libertinam* videlicet ejus conditionem indicantes, a Sponio detractas esse, vir doctus *Malvasia* ostendit *. Secundam quod attinet; Amicus meus *Justus Fontanus*, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Præsul, vir omni literarum genere præstantissimus, scriptisque in lucem editis meritò celeberrimus, in libro suo de Antiquitatibus Hortæ (quem inter alia plurima amicitiae & benevolentiae suæ pignora ab eo Romæ dono accepi) diverso planè modo eam nobis exhibet; videlicet, MAL-LIVS PAM. &c. Nulla interpunctionis notulâ ad prænomen distinguendum adhibitâ: atque ex eo Panphilum illum è *seruorum grege* fuisse, necdum libertate donatum contendit; propterea quod prænominè, quo cives omnes utebantur, careret: * Sponiumque deinde levitè reprehendit, quod ultra quam par sit, Robortelli opinionem irrideat.

De Asclepiade autem Medico proximè memorato, quam puerilia & inepta omnia protulit Sponius? * Qui inscriptionem ipsam in Gallicum sermonem vertens, *septem Urbium Dominium & Principatum* ab Imperatore Trajano eum obtinuisse asserit:

* Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 144.

* Marmora Felsin. Sect. 5. c. 1.

* Cap. 9. p. 166.

Differ. 27. p. 431.

Næque Meadius deinde hunc tantumvirum, seu Principem potius, *totque Civitatum donationem*, in Artis suæ gloriam commemorare omisit. ¹ Sed quid tandem, si Diis placet, hæc tam magnifica sibi velint? Reinesius enim, Auctor quidem ille gravis, Medicusque celebris, (unde ipsam etiam inscriptionem transfulerat Sponius) nihil aliud *Asclepiadem* huncce fuisse dicit,² quàm *servum è Calpurnia Familia* manumissum, qui Trajani favore *Civis privilegia & immunitatem*, non solum Romæ, sed in sex aliis Græciæ & Asiæ Civitatibus sibi, suisque impetrâverat: Nec quicquam sane amplius inscriptionis ipsius verbis significari certissimum est; quippe *septem Urbium Dominatus* ab optimo & prudentissimo Principe *Mædico Græculo* donatus, non solum incredibile quiddam videtur, sed à scriptoribus omnibus silentio præteriri nullo modo poterat.

Cæteros autem Medicos in reliquis illis lapidibus nominatos, quis unquam sanus ingenuos, ut ille, atque ex familiis quarum nomina præ se ferunt, oriundos credere potest? quidni potius servos omnes fuisse existimemus, qui manumissi postea, *Dominorum sibi nomina, & prænomena* pro more assumerant?

Verterat hunc Dominus momento turbinus, exit
Marcus, Dama, &c.—Perf. Sat. 5. 78.

Hoc fanè de *Claudio illo Juliano* quam maximè est probabile; non tam propter conjugem Græcam *Epigonem*, quam quod *Claudia familia*, è quâ ipse manumissus esset, *libertis, libertabusque* commune Sepulchrum posuisse videtur. Sin quod minùs est verisimile, liberos eos esse concedamus; Romani tamen esse non poterant; sed ex Græculis istis, qui ab Imperatoribus Civitate

¹ Orat. Harv. p. 9.

² Syntag. Inscript. Antiq. Class. 11. 4.

donati, Magnorumque in clientelam recepti, Romana deinceps nomina usurparunt; retento tamen plerumque atque adjecto veteri Græco: Quales proculdubio (si non servi potius sint existimandi) *Cassium*, *Fonteium*, *Arruntium* fuisse ex ipsis inscriptionibus satis apparet.

Sextum viratum denique *Augustalem* quod attinet; quem Medicus ille Charmes in inscriptione gessisse dicitur: errat planè Vir Eruditus, quod non nisi ad *Ingenuos Nobilesque* deferri eum existimaverit; ^a quum & Libertinis præcipuè, seu semper potius delatum fuisse multæ aliæ inscriptiones declarant: quarum quidem una ipsam pecuniæ summam memorat, quam *Medicus Servus* pro libertate; quamque *libertus* deinde pro *Seviratu* in Rempublicam dedisset ^b.

P. DECIMVS. P. L. EROS.

MERVL. A. MEDICVS

CLINICVS CHIRVRGVS

OCVLARIVS. VI. VIR.

HIC. PRO. LIBERTATE. DEDIT. H. S. L.,

HIC. PRO. SEVIRATV. IN. REMP.

DEDIT. H. S. ∞ . ∞ .

Hier. Mercurial. Var. Lect. l. 3.

^a Dissert. 27. p. 435.

^b *Seviratus* hicce *Augustalis*, quale tandem Munus fuerit, sive Sacerdotium, sive magistratus quidam in municipiis, haud inter Eruditos constat: ex Tacito [Ann. 1. 54. 1.] & Suetonio [Claud. c. 6.] discimus, post mortem Augusti Sacerdotium quoddam in honorem Julæ Gentis a Tiberio esse institutum; in quod forte deligebantur Primores Civitatis, unus & viginti, *Sodalium Augustalium* nomine, qui sacris, ludisque in Cæsarium defunctorum honorem constitutis præfuerunt; quibus

postea extra ordinem adjecti Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, Germanicus. Hujus Sodalitatis ad similitudinem, rebusque ut opinor, iisdem procurandis, *Seviratus Augustalis* in Colonis & Municipiis creatus videtur: Ordo quidem inter Decuriones & plebem medius; ut ex Veteribus marmoribus patet. Honorem ipsum pecuniâ plerumque emptum; nonnunquam tamen à Decurionibus ob merita gratuito datum; nec tamen perpetuum fuisse, sed quinquennale & repetitum interdum ex Inscriptionibus antiquis colligitur.

Sponius autem, dum Medicorum veterum conditionem liberam ac ingenuam probare studet, evertit planè, ut mihi videtur, quod tanto opere astruere laborat, cum è *Libertinorum* tandem familiâ maximam eorum partem exiisse fateri cogatur : quid enim tantum interest, *Servine* Medendi Artem exercuerint an *Liberti*? quum hos etiam in servitute illam cum didicisse, tum exercuisse necesse sit : *Servos* autem *frugi & diligentes* (atque ut ex supra dictis conijcere licet, omnium maxime Medicos) haud *quinquennio diutiùs servire*, sed in libertatem deinde èmitti solere, ex *Cicerone* colligere possumus : * atque hinc *Medicorum Libertorum*, quorum nomina toties occurrunt, tantus numerus effluxit : qui quidem etsi *liberi* dici possint, (quum tamen non omnes fortasse justâ libertate fruebantur) at *Ingenui* certè nunquam existimabantur : contra verò ; *Libertinos* atque *Ingenuos*, tanquam contrariæ sortis homines, sibi invicem oppositos semper ab Auctoribus invenimus, *Hominibus*, inquit Seneca, ^d *prodesse Natura jubet, Servi, Liberive sint ; Ingenui an Libertini*. Narratque Suetonius, ^e Augustum neminem unquam *Libertinorum cænæ adhibuisse*, excepto Mena, (S. Pompeii Liberto) *sed asserto prius in Ingenuitatem*.

Sed ad Meadium tandem nostrum veniamus, qui in hac quæstione tractandâ, ^f in id unum totus incumbit, ut inustam *Medicis* servitutis infamiam in *Chirurgos* penitùs removeat ; *Illos* Romæ semper splendidos, honoribusque auctos ; *Hos* tantummodò ignobiles, abjectos, serviles esse contendens : Utrique autem cum *Medici* à Veteribus appellabantur, inde errorem hunc omnem nasci innuit, quod quos eodem nomine appellatos Viri docti observassent, eâdem etiam vitæ conditione usos crederent.

* Orat. Philip. 8. 11.

^d De Vita Beat. c. 24.

^e Aug. c. 74.

^f Orat. Hærv. p. 8.

Sed parum ei feliciter in re probandâ successit: ex omnibus enim, quos enumerat Medicis, duos tantum profert, de quorum conditione certi aliquid ac indubitati memoriæ proditur; *Arcagathum* scilicet, & *Antonium Musam*: quorum ille quidem liber & Civitate donatus, sed *Chirurgus* certè, seu ut *Plinius*, eum vocat, ^s *Medicus Vulnerarius*; Hic autem, *Medicus* planè summus, summisque honoribus ornatus, *Augusti* tamen ut supra dixi, *Servus* & *Libertus* fuit: de reliquis illis, quorum *Romana* quidem nomina adducit, *Cassii*, *Calpetanis*, *Arruntiis*, &c. quid constituendum sit, ex supra memoratis facilè judicabimus: quos si Cives ipse, ingenuosque omnes fuisse, cum Sponio credere potest; haud tamen aliis persuadere credat; *Nobiles* unquam *Romanos* Artem illam exercuisse, quam vel *infimus* quisque *gravitate sua indignam* arbitrabatur; quamque *nullus omnino Quiritium*, nisi ferè admodum, nec ut *Clericus ipse* fatetur, ante *Cæsarum* ætatem unquam attigit.

Observat autem Vir Celeberrimus, in Nummo quodam *Rubriæ Familiæ*, *Anguem Deæ Salutis Symbolum* conspici, quem ad florentem tunc in ea familia Medicinæ laudem referri omnino oportere censet ^h: miraturque *Patinum* & *Vaillant*, Medicos quidem ambos, in Nummis Familiarum Romanarum explicandis, *rem Arti suæ tam honorificam* prætermisisse: at in aliis etiam Nummis Consularibus, quos ipse quoque exhibet ⁱ, Uno scilicet *Junia*, altero *Acilia Familiæ*, ipsa *Deæ Salutis* imago expressa cernitur: num Medici propterea familiarum istarum Principes; nihil sane minus credendum. Sed *Juniorum* num-

^s Hist. Nat. l. 29. 1.

^h Orat. p. 11.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 31. Afferit. [p. 49.] inter alias Romanorum familias, *Rubriam* Medicinæ laude floruisse; *Plinium*que testem adducit: qui tamen nec de *Rubria*, nec de

aliis istis familiis ne verbum profert; sed inter Medicos tantummodo celeberrimos memorat *Cassios*, *Carpitanos*, *Arruntios*, *Albutios*, *Rubrios* — quos *Servos* potius, quam *Familiarum* Principes fuisse, ut modo dixi, haud dubitandum est.

mus, ob Templi *Deæ Saluti* ædificati memoriam, percussus existimatur, quod *Junius Bubulcus* ex voto, quod Consul fecerat, Dictator dedicavit A. U. 451. ^k Alterque iste *Acilianus*, munus aliquod, vel magistratum, ad valetudinem populi contra pestem, morbumve quendam contagiosum tuendam institutum, gestumque feliciter denotat, uti ex ipsa inscriptione Viri docti judicant. MV. ACILIVS. III. VIR. VALETV. Quidni igitur cum Patino, *Rubriorum* etiam Nummum illum (quo *Æsculapii* in Urbem advectio denotari atque exprimi videtur) ad operam aliquam singularem ea occasione Reipublicæ præstitam, seu ad sumptus Templo ejus ædificando, vel ornando postea ab ea familia præbitos, referendum arbitremur? Sed ut privatos hosce Cives omittamus; in Imperatorum sæpissime nummis eadem illa cernitur *Salutis* effigies; significans videlicet, salutem a Principe vel Imperio publicè, vel certis quibusdam Civibus præcipuè datam^l; seu vota & sacrificia pro conservatione, & valetudine Imperatoris à populo, vel Civitate aliqua facta. Ex talibus autem nummis, si Imperatores ipsos medicinam exercuisse putaremus, haud magis absurdum esset, quam si Nobiles illos *Junios*, *Acilios*, *Rubrios*, Consulum adhuc ætate, Artem illam professos crederemus; quæ illis certe temporibus dedecus potius & infamiam, quam laudem, gloriamve nummis percutiendis celebrari dignam attulisset.

^k T. Liv. l. 10. 1.

^l Cum conjuratio quædam (cujus Princeps Cn. Cornelius, Pompeii magni ex filia nepos) contra Augustum esset detecta, Livie Augustæ consilio atque intercessione non veniam modo Conjuratores, sed honores & Magistratus ab Imperatore consecutos esse, tradit Dio: [Cæs. Aug. l. 55. p. 85.] In cujus rei memoriam Nummum il-

lum percussum esse, verisimile est, in cujus averfa parte, Livie facies conspicitur, hac inscriptione; SAL. AVG. Vid. Agostin. Dial. 2. Tab. 45. Statuam etiam illam, quæ Romæ adhuc cernitur, Livieque Augustæ faciem, sub Deæ Salutis imagine exhibet, ob eandem causam, atque eodem tempore fingi credibile est. Vid. Raccolti di Statue di Roma.—

Dum autem a Medicis contumeliam propulsare conatur, caveat tandem vir dignissimus, ne in alios ipse quidem contumeliosus reperiatur; Chirurgos velim, viros sane honestos, & Reipublicæ utiles; quosque a reliquis Medicis, nec nomine, nec conditione antiquitus unquam distingui, aut segregari reperio: Nisi fortasse credendum potius sit, Chirurgicam Medicinæ partem, cum antiquiorem, tum majori etiam apud veteres honore fuisse habitam. Ipse quidem *Æsculapius* non aliam ob causam in Deorum numerum relatus dicitur, quàm quod *Specillum* (Chirurgorum quoddam instrumentum) *invenerit, primusque vulnera obligare docuerit*^m: ejusque itidem Filios, ab Homero tantopere celebratos, *Podalirium & Machaonem*, non ad pestem morbosve medendos, sed ad vulnera solum curanda adhiberi cernimus: *Ex quo apparet*, inquit Celsusⁿ, *has partes Medicinæ solas ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas*. Arsque ipsa Chirurgorum adeo propria ab Antiquis existimabatur, ut nomen inde, a telis scilicet eximendis, apud Græcos eam duxisse *Sextus Empiricus* Auctor est^o: *Ἱατρικὴ εἴρεται τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἰῶν ἐξαιρέσεως*. Quam quidem nominis definitionem ab Homero plane sumsisse videtur.

Ἰητρεὺς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων

Ἰός τ' ἐκτάμνειν, &c. ————— *Iliad. λ. 514.*

Hier. Mercurialis, Medicus quidem ipse doctissimus, omnes priscos Medicos Chirurgos fuisse agnoscit; atque ad Galeni usque tempora Medicamenta sibi ipsis parasse: Uti *Comperitum habent*, inquit^p, *qui in Auctoribus antiquioribus*, atque Hippocrate præcipue sunt versati.

^m Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

ⁿ Præf. lib. de re Med.

^o Adv. Mathem. l. 1. c. 2.

^p Var. lect. l. 1. c. 13.

Apud veteres certe Romanos, communi Medicorum nomine cum utrosque appellari, tum utraque simul Medicinæ partes ab eodem semper exerceri certissimum est. *Arcagathus* ille, qui omnium primus Medicinæ profitendæ causa e Græcia Romam, Anno Urbis 535, venisse dicitur¹, *Cirurgus*, ut ante dixi, fuit, tabernamque ad operam locandam publice datam habuit. *Plautus* etiam, qui eodem tempore, seu posterius aliquanto floruit, de *Medicis* quoties loquitur, haud alios ac *Cirurgus* esse confirmat.

*Lumbi sedendo, oculi spectando dolent,
Manendo Medicum, dum se ex opere recipiat;
Odiosus tamen vix ab ægrotis venit;
Ait se obligasse crus fractum Æsculapio,
Apollini autem brachium, &c. ——— Menæc. 5. 3.*

C. Marium crura tumoribus quibusdam deformata Medico secanda obtulisse legimus²; & secandi acerbiter sine ullo doloris indicio pertulisse. *Cicero* de Milite Veterano ac Exercitato loquens³, ob vulnera fortiores eum fieri dicit, nec requirere aliud, quàm *Medicum, a quo obligetur*. *Catonis Medicum illum* supra memoratum *Cirurgi* proprio munere fungentem vidimus. Gladiatorum denique *Ludi singuli*, ut ex Inscriptionibus plurimis apparet, singulos sibi Medicos habuerunt, in utrumque certe, tum *valetudinem tuendam*, tum *vulnera medenda*, paratos æque ac instructos.

Imperatorum autem postea temporibus, cum Civium simul & Medicorum multitudo in immensum quasi excrevisset; atque in Urbe opibus omnibus abundante, vel *qualibet Medicinæ pars* vectigal, quæstumque satis amplum profitentibus conficere valeret; tum primum in partes varias secari quasi, & dividi Medendi Ars; tum singulæ deinceps a singulis tractari & admini-

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 29. 1. ² Plut. in C. Mar. ³ Tusc. Quæst. l. 2. 38.

strari; tum vel minima quæque corporis pars, certusve quilibet dolor *Medicos sibi proprios, & unice addictos* habere cœpit¹: atque hinc denique *Clinicorum, Chirurgorum, Oculariorum, Auriculariorum, &c.* nomina effluxere: quæ tamen omnia uni interdum, eidemque adhuc competere, ex Inscriptione supra allata, atque alijs multis liquet.

Postremis temporibus, inquit Menagius, partem illam Medicinæ, quæ manu medetur, ab alijs homines sejunxerunt: quando factum hoc dissidium, dixerit alius, non ego; certe post Antoninos.* Scio autem Celsum, prout a Clerico citatur², multis antea annis factam hanc Medicinæ partitionem indicare videri: dubitat autem vir eruditus, an Celsus de ea, tanquam facta jam, & in usum perducta; an de re solum utili, quamque instituendam exoptarat, esset locutus; cum Celsi ipsius ætate, antiquum adhuc morem obtinuisse, omnesque simul Medicinæ partes ab uno eodemque tractatas sæpe esse appareat.

Quicquid vero de hac re statuamus; hoc unum certissimum est, *Medicos & Chirurgos* pari semper conditione & dignitate apud veteres Romanos extitisse; viderintque tandem ii, qui constantem doctorum fere omnium opinionem, tanquam *ridiculum commentum, in opprobrium artis prolatum*, insectantur; quam temere ipsi, nullo Antiquitatis Monumento, nullo Auctore muniti, in alios, immerentes illos quidem & indignos, mera opprobria janciant.

Meadius autem, ne, si nihil omnino de ignobili Medicorum veterum statu fateretur, obstinatum nimis & pervicacem sese ostenderet, concedere tandem aliquid videtur, sed tanta verborum obscuritate involutum & quasi vi extortum, ut sensum inde

¹ Medicos fortasse quis excipiet, etiam eos, qui alicujus partis corporis, vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur: ut puta, si Auricularius, si Fistulæ, vel dentium, &c.

1. 1. §. 3. Dig. de var. & extraor. cognition.

² Amœnitat. Jur. Civ. c. 35. p. 227.

³ Hist. de la Medicine. l. 1. pt. 2. c. 9.

vix ullum quidem, nedum clarum & distinctum elicere facile valeamus: ejusque ideo verba integra huc apposui, ut solertior aliquis ea mihi expedienda suscipiat.

Nihil igitur servile, inquit ille, aut tenue quidem, Artem nostram adhuc dedecorat. Sed ut plane & sine fuco totam rem dicam, simul cum ingenuis multis, & doctis viris, non pauci scientiæ & fortunæ bonis inferiores, illis temporibus Romam veniebant; qui etsi non Medicamentis, sed manu curarent, Medici tamen appellabantur. Hi in divitum & Magnatum clientelam se conferebant, & Servi agebant, donec Civitatem consequerentur, inde Liberti, nomen alicujus Familiæ Romanæ sibi adsciscere solebant: neque raro, si ingenium studio literarum excoluissent, morbis etiam internis medebantur, & in Medicorum Clinicorum censum veniebant. Tali conditione fuit Antonius Musa, &c.*

Hæc ille; sed ut mihi quidem videtur, cum vèrbis tum sententiis sibi ipsi plane repugnans: ut enim alia omittam; ego sane haud intelligo, quemadmodum ii, qui e Græcia sponte quidem venissent, atque in Divitum clientelam sese contulissent, *Servos* deinde *Romæ agere*, iidemque *Magnatum Clientes & Servi* simul esse possent? Hujusmodi autem omnia, (sive errata, seu minus tantum accurata vocemus) & longe quidem majora, tali certe viro facile sunt ignoscenda: cui tantis rebus occupato, otium ad hujusmodi nugas exquirendas nullo modo suppetit; cujusque assiduis occupationibus quantum unquam moræ interponatur, tantum sane de publicis commodis detrahitur.

Clericus autem ille, quem supra nominavi, in libro illo, quo Medendi Artis historiam diligenter & erudite contexuit, hanc omnem quæstionem copiose tractat⁷; & quamvis Medicus, non dubitat tamen, quæ in utramque partem dici solent, in medium proferre, aliis judicium relinquens: in hoc tantum errare visus;

* Orat. p. 9.

⁷ Lib. 1. p. 3. c. 2.

quod Sponii Auctoritatem sequens, Medicos illos *Arruntium, Calpetanum, Rubrium, &c.* quos *Romanorum primæ* Medicinam attigisse dicit, ex *amplissimis Civium familiis* ad eam illico accessisse credat: quasi artem illam, quæ Romani Civis existimationi nocere plane existimabatur, *Nobiles* statim exercuisse, omnino esset credibile: idque *Augusti, Tiberiive* ætate, cum vel multis post annis Medici, ut supra dixi, in *humillimis mortalium* a *Seneca* adhuc numerantur.

Sed de hac omni disceptatione hætenus: nec quemquam jam existimare velim, me horum aliquid disputasse, ut Medendi arti, honestæ ei quidem atque imprimis utili, invidiam, aliquam conflarem, dedecusve inurerem: Nihil minus mihi in animo erat; quippe haud alius quisquam Medicorum plures, amicitia sibi & consuetudine omni conjunctos habet, aut habere magis cupit: quorum plerosque cognovi semper, tum Viros bonos, tum in omni fere doctrinæ genere excellentes. Nec ipsam fane quæstionem ad veram artis gloriam, laudemque pertinere omnino arbitror: etenim hoc sibi Medicina nullo modo præcipuum, sed cum aliis plerisque artibus commune habet; quod Romæ tardius olim recepta, neglecta & contempta fuerit: neque *Medici* magis vituperandi, quod a priscis illis *Quiritibus* nullo loco habiti essent, quam *Poetæ*; quorum familiaritatem & consuetudinem M. Cato Senatori cuidam, tanquam probum aliquod objecisse fertur^a: tota hæc disputatio in Historica quadam disquisitione unice versatur; quæ etsi omnibus fane levicula; nonnullis tamen, uti spero, nec injucunda, nec homine in literis otiante indigna prorsus videbitur; qui tamen & his fortasse graviora, uti alias fecerit, ita in posterum etiam sit aliquando in lucem editurus.

^a Serò a nostris Poetæ vel cogniti, vel recepti.—Philosophia jacuit usque ad hanc ætatem, nec ullum habuit lumen

Latinarum literarum. Cic. Tusc. quæst. 1.

^a Ibid.—

DISSERTATIONIS
DE
Medicorum Romæ Degentium
CONDITIONE IGNOBILI & SERVILI,
CONTRA
ANONYMOS QUOSDAM
Notarum Brevium, Responſionis, atque Animadverſionis
AUCTORES,
DEFENSIO.

*Qui admonent amicè docendi ſunt, qui inimicè inſectan-
tur repellendi.* Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i.

DISSERTATIONIS

DE

MEDICORUM ROMÆ DEGENTIUM

Conditione Ignobili & Servili

DEFENSIO, c.

CUM de *Medicorum Romæ olim degentium conditione* Dissertationem meam in publicum edere statuissem, nullius mihi vel animum vel existimationem lædere propositum erat; sed cum eruditis quibuscunque atque antiquarum præsertim rerum studiosis, gratiam me potius initurum putaram, si quæstionem in Antiquitatis cognitione versatam, atque à viris doctis, etsi levitè solummodo, at sæpius tamen, varièque agitatam, penitè ipse perscrutandam, fusiùsque explicandam, arriperem: quippe ego, qui nisi laceffit, atque injuriæ propulsandæ causæ, neminem mihi unquam lacessendum duxerim, haud tam temerarius fuissèm ut *Florentissimi Medicorum Ordinis* inimicitias, hac meâ præsertim minùs firmâ valetudine, ultro mihi subeundas putarem.

Sed ut dicam planè quod sentiam; ego nec intelligere unquam potui, neque adhuc fanè causam videre queo, cur hæc nostra disputatio *Medicis* omnino *Stomachum* moveret; cur vè of-

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fenfos inde aut indignè sese tractatos judicarent. Etenim quid si *Prisci illi Romani* de Arte ista minùs quidem, quàm oportuit, honorificè censuerint; num ad horum temporum Medicos hoc ullo modo pertinere existimabitur? Si homines, inquam, illi artium bonarum rudes, literarumque expertes, Medicinam, juxta ac reliquas artes contempserint, nec Civibus quidem suis colendam judicaverint; num hoc apud Viros graves de verâ artis laude detrahere aliquid aut imminuere poterit? Numvè mirandum est, in quâ Urbe per tot secula nec luxus, nec pecunia ferè reperiebatur, quorum alterum Morbos, alterum Medicos alit, in ea Urbe, *medendi artem* jacuisse, atque ab *Ingenuis liberisque hominibus*, quibus vitam pro suo cujusque arbitrio instituendi facultas esset, omnino rejectam ac contemptam esse?

Apud *Turcas* hodie, si peregrinantibus habenda fides, hæc eadem Ars nullo ferè loco haberi, sed à *Servis, Obstetricibus, Græculis, Judæisque* administrari dicitur: quis tamen hoc *Medicinæ ipsi* infamiam ullam, dedecusvè afferre arbitratur? quisve non Nationis ejus infcitiam potius & barbariem irridet, quæ Artem tam utilem, tamque necessariam non pluris æstimet; nec præmiis honoribusque propositis homines suos ad eam excolendam excitet?

Videram autem, fateor, nonnullos, viros eos quidem graves atque eruditos, vel gloriolâ quâdam elatos, vel artis suæ caritate nimis fastidiosâ incensos, hanc omnem disputationem impatienter satis, nec nisi ægro planè animo tulisse; atque in eâ refutandâ, perinde ac opprobrio aliquo à Medicis repellendo, tam vehementer elaborasse, ut sese vix à contumeliis abstinere; nec contrariæ sententiæ fautores haud aliter ac malevolos atque invidos insectari dubitarent. Horum ego intemperantiam etsi aliquantulum reprimendam esse censui, ita tamen reprimendam, ut maledicentia sanè omnis, sermonisque asperitas à nostrâ prorsus disceptatione abessent; atque ut Viros liberaliter educa-

tos decet, non animorum contentione, sed opinionum solummodò, diffensione ad veri investigationem accederemus: quod quidem in illa *mea Dissertatione* me tam religiosè præstitisse arbitror, ut ne verbum ibi unum aut contumeliosè aut asperè nimis dictum inveniri posse confidam.

Dissertationem autem ipsam quod attinet; ea sane non nisi casu quodam, atque illo fere, quo rem exposui, modo, tum primùm inchoata, tum perfecta postea ac in lucem emissà est: nec vereor profecto, ne quis idem mihi illud objiciat, quod *Oppugnatores quidem meos* objecisse video; tanquam causæ *a me prorsus alienæ memet ipse immiscuissem*^a. Quicquid enim literis mandetur, id omnium plane lectioni & judicio propositum semper judicavi, & si quid potissimum *in re literaria* ab hominibus curiosis in controversia agitatum, atque in medium semel projectum esset, id sane ab homine quovis otioso & literis dedito minime alienum esse putavi. Sin autem, quod magis suspicor, quodque fieri plane perspicio, id mihi potius crimini vertatur, quod clarissimi *Meadii* sententiam mihi impugnamam susceperim^b; id quidem etsi haud parvo meo periculo factum fateor, quod a tanto Viro dissentire ausus essem; attamen ni petulanter aut iracunde id fecisse arguerer, cum culpa omnino ulla junctum esse nego; nisi omnes simul omnium temporum eruditos eodem crimine condemnemus, qui inter se discrepare ac contra disputare, quotiescunque res postularret, nunquam dubitaverint; nec nisi ejusmodi contentionibus *verum* unquam investigari, literarumve studia vigere omnino, aut radices agere posse existimaverint^c.

Istud autem meum opusculum haud citius in publicum prodiiit, quam ad me statim perlatum est, responsi mihi aliquid parari, nonnullosque ingenio & doctrina præstantes, qui contra

^a Resp. p. 4.

^b Ib. p. 201. It. Animad. br. p. 42.

^c Cic. Tusc. qu. 2. 2.

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me scriberent, meamque sententiam refellerent, a *Medicis quibusdam* delectos jam & designatos esse: quo quidem nuntio tantum abfuit, ut molestiæ mihi aliquid crearetur, ut gaudio potius tacito ac voluptate memet inde affectum senserim. Quippe illud, cum omnibus veri tandem investigandi, tum mihi præsertim, haud multum occupato, honestam quandam otii conterendi occasionem præbiturum esse putavi: nam mecum ipse ab initio plane statueram, aut sententiam meam, a quocunque impugnata fuerit, defendere ac confirmare, aut si ob rationum contra adductarum vim id mihi minus liceret, manus ultro dare, meque victum plane ac deceptum libere & publice confiteri.

Hac igitur expectatione dum plenus, erectusque stabam; prodire tandem contra *Dissertationem meam Notæ quædam breves*, ab Anonymo quodam conscriptæ; leves illæ quidem & futiles, nec dignæ sanè, quæ alio modo a me tractarentur, ac quo ab omnibus eas tractari intellexi, contemptu scilicet & neglectu. Sensi enim illico, illas non istud esse majorum lucubrationum opus, quo sententiam meam refutandam atque evertendam nonnulli jactitarant; vidi plane tam debilem impetum tanti belli famæ haud quaquam respondere; nec *Notulas istas* aliud esse reputavi, ac Velites quosdam, levissæ armaturæ milites, in me ante emissos, ut me vexarent aliquantulum atque occupatum tenerent, quoad legiones, quæ armorum pondere lentius progredi cogentur, ad pugnam adessent.

Nec me profecto animus fefellit; quippe sub *Responsionis titulo* in lucem tandem venit, etsi longo satis intervallo, diu meditatum opus, vel ipso aspectu & magnitudine terribile: utpote *Dissertatiunculam istam meam* vel decies circiter paginarum numero exuperans: quasi auctor noster, quod alios nonnunquam factitasse accepimus, ipsa libri sui mole & pondere controversiam penitus omnem delere atque obruere cogitasset. Libro autem

ipso

ipso in manus statim arrepto, atque avide satis perlecto, haud dici facile potest, quàm mira illicò expectationis meæ omnis frustratio consecuta est: nam vix tantæ molis librum me antea unquam vidisse memini, in quo tam pauca aut observatu digna aut lectu jucunda invenissem: de me vero omnia non nisi acerbe ac malevole dicta animadverti; & quasi non de re *prorsus levicula*, sed de *Religionis ipsius veritate* certamen institutum esset; singula fere minutatim agitata, exaggerata, atque a meo sæpe sensu detorta vidi; ut Auctor non tam ad causam aliquam defendendam, quàm ad me accusandum *Orator* adhibitus videretur: quamvis enim nomen ille suum celavisset, sensi tamen hominem e *Rhetorum turba* conductum esse oportere; cui scilicet generi concessum novimus, omnia *tragicè ornare, augere, ementiri*^d: is mihi solùm scrupulus restabat, quòd in ejus quidem sermone nihil planè, quod *Rhetorem oleret*, nihil venustatis, nihil ornatus, sed inculta potius omnia nec satis Latina invenirem.

Hujusmodi itaque Scriptorem haud magis quam alterum illum (cui neutiquam sanè eum anteferendum censeo) cogitatione ulla mea, aut animadversione dignum judicasset; ni hunc potissimùm hominem a *Clarissimo Meadio* ad hoc *Respondendum* delectum; librumque ipsum *ejusdem cura & sumptibus* in lucem emissum; amicisque suis *manu propria inscriptum & dono a Meadio ipso missum* intellexissem. Quibus non dubie ad me perlatis, non nihil ipse commotus, veritusque ne, præ nimia quadam mei ipsius caritate, haud satis rectè de Adversarii mei meritis statuissim, librum ejus relegi; in quo quidem et si quæstionem ipsam quod attinet, nihil ferè, ut ante dixi, quod refutatione dignum videretur, inveni; cum tamen memet ubique perindè ac in *Notis istis brevibus*, tanquam *Calumniatorem, Criminatorem, Malevolum* tractatum videram; idque *tanti viri*

^d Cic. de Clar. Orat.

^e Resp. p. 86, 134, &c

judicio comprobatum, ejusque jussu ac opera in publicum evulgatum; illud demum mihi ipsi & existimationi meæ deberi arbitrabar, ut opprobria tam indigna refellerem; ostenderemque ejusmodi convitia non eos unquam attingere posse, qui nominis & famæ reverentia, tanquam pignoribus datis, adstricti, ad controversias literarias descendunt; sed *conductitiis* solummodo *scriptoribus* istis convenire, qui existimationis nullum prorsus aut periculum subire, aut jacturam facere possunt, sed tenebris atque obscuritate tecti in quosvis sibi designatos, quasi ex insidiis impetum faciunt, & quamlibet causam defendendam, quemlibet hominem lacerandum mercede pactâ suscipiunt.

Hæc dum mecum ipse meditabar; tertius quidam in publicum prodiit sub *Animadversionis brevis*, titulo contra me conscriptus libellus; quem quidem intellexi subito, tum stilo, tum Materia consimili ex *eodem illo Notularum Auctore* profluxisse: quippe nihil fere aliud fecisse *Animadversor* videtur, ac eadem omnia recoquere, quæ antea disputarat, sed nova quadam luce donata, novo ordine disposita, atque ut ei videtur, jocis quibusdam & salibus conditiora. Ego vero, quoniam scribendo plane inexpertus homo videtur, hoc ei consilium dare velim, ut sese posthac a facetiis abstineat; hoc, mihi crede, non illi a Natura datum; quam in re omni ducem sequi oportet: & si ex arte sua victum, laudemve quærere studeat, non ingenii viribus, sed industria penitus & labore rem ei conficiendam video.

In hac vero, quam nunc aggredimur, certatione, propter *Clarissimi Meadii* nomen atque auctoritatem a me, ut modo dixi, suscepta, ne, si alteri responderem, alterum vero, nec illum magis quidem indignum, negligere, injustus cuiquam viderer; statui sane omnibus simul, una fere eademque opera respondere. Primùm igitur, ut ratione & via quadam procedamus,

damus, *Notas istas breves*, quia primæ illæ quidem prodierunt, haud alio plane, ac quo occurrunt, ordine, considerare visum est; atque eodem tempore, si quæ vel ejusdem vel consimilis argumenti in *Responsionis Auctore* animadvertero, ea simul omnia in unum conferam, atque uno labore absolvam: deinde ad *Responsionis auctorem* me totum convertam, & reliqua omnia, quæ sibi propria habuerit, separatim perpendam; non inmemor interea *Animadversionis* etiam *brevis*, si quid Auctor ejus vel novi, vel notatu digni attulerit; quod rariùs tamen fiet, propterea quod is, ut dixi, haud aliud fecisse videtur, ac ea, quæ antea dicta essent, verbis atque ordine paululum immutatis iterare.

Sed antequam in aciem ipsam descendamus, operæ pretium erit, de controversiæ hujus statu nonnulla breviter præfari, & questionem ipsam ita definire, ac limitibus circumscribere, ut constituatur quid & quale sit id, de quo disceptamus; quod nō fiat, vagabitur nimis hæc omnis disputatio, neque certam tandem ullam stabilemve sententiam elicere inde poterimus.

Itaque hoc potissimum a lectore animadversum velim, ea omnia, quæ de *Medicorum Conditione* a me sunt disputata, ad eam *Urbis Romæ ætatem*, quæ *Cæsarum temporibus antecessit*, referri omnino oportere; hos mihi in *Dissertatione meâ* controversiæ hujus terminos constitui: per id temporis spatium, quòd septingentos circiter annos complectitur, *Medicinam* non nisi a *Peregrinis, libertis, serviisque* penitus administratam fuisse contendo; *Artemque ipsam* tanto in contemptu a *Populo Romano* habitam reperio, ut professio ejus *Civium omnino existimatione indigna* judicaretur; atque eorum adeo ne unum quidem, qui eam unquam attigerit, ostendi posse existimo. Qui verò hanc sententiam impugnant, ea, quæ de *Medicis Servis* a Veteribus tradita reperiantur, non de *Medicis proprie dictis*, sed de *Chirurgis*, eisque solummodo, qui inferiores atque operarias Medi-

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cinæ partes tractabant, intelligenda prorsus esse disputant: atque hinc alia statim de *Chirurgis* enata quæstio est; videlicet, num iisdem illis temporibus *Chirurgorum & Medicorum* conditio diversa omnino, aut ab invicem sejuncta fuerit; numve *Medicæ Artis* *partitio* ulla tunc temporis facta esse appareat. Ego vero, quantum cùm ex Scriptoribus antiquis, tum *Medicis* præsertim nostrorum temporum eruditissimis, qui in hac ipsa causa perquirenda quàm maximè elaborarint, investigare ac colligere valuerim; haud ullam *Artis hujus partitionem*, ullamve præsertim *Medicorum & Chirurgorum distinctionem* per id omne temporis intervallum fieri reperio; sed utrosque cum eodem nomine appellari, tum eodem loco & conditione haberi video: quod quidem etsi generatim verum esse credo, haud ita tamen verum, quin quod omnibus universim enuntiatis accidere solet, huic itidem veritati unam alteramve forsitan exceptionem opponi posse existimem; neque aliam omnino regulam huic nostræ quæstioni constitui debere arbitror, ac quam omnibus constitutam novimus; videlicet, *res quasvis ex majori semper parte nominari oportere, etiam si pars aliqua abesset*^f.

Quisquis igitur hanc meam opinionem sibi refellendam suscipiet; is primùm terminos huic omni disputationi positos animadvertat & consideret necesse est; quæstionemque sese tractare meminerit, tum loco tum tempore certo definitam & circumscriptam: nihil attinet in hac causa de Medicorum divitiis, honoribus, artisque dignitate puerorum more & sine ulla temporum distinctione declamare; ostendat mihi, si poterit, *homines aliquot Romanos* in eo temporis spatio *Medicæ Artis studio & professione* florentes: ostendat mihi *Medicos* non nomine modo, sed conditione atque honore a *Chirurgis* distin-

^f Cic. Tusc. qu. 5.

Etos: atque hoc si quis fecerit, tum demum redargui memet & confutari plane fatebor.

Sed ad *Annotatorem* jam *nostrum* descendamus; qui etsi literis istis M. D. libelli in fronte adscriptis, sese tanquam *Medicinæ Doctorem* nobis venditare sperat, mihi tamen haud facile persuaserim, homini tam imperito tamque inepto, *Academias* *hasce nostras* honorem unquam istum detulisse: Crederem potius, si quam ex stylo ejus conjecturam facere liceat, de *Medicorum istorum* grege cum esse, qui fora circumire, ex pulpitis perorare, laudesque suas, artisque gloriam ad populum prædicare solent. Etenim quid aliud nobis indicare, quidve aliud olere videtur oratio ista vehemens ac turgida? Quid aliud illæ repetitæ toties ad populum exclamationes? Jam illa reputate, quæso, quæ de *Asclepiade, Medico celebri, memorie tradita sunt*^a: legatis, quæso, locum *Plinii de quæstibus Medicorum*^b: videte, quam ingentes *Medici Romani confecerint pecuniæ summas*^c: quæso locum ipsum inspicite^d: utcunque vero de hac re statuamus, hoc unum certissimum est, in *notis hisce brevibus* vel ingenii vel modestiæ ne minimum quidem signum reperiri, nisi quod Auctor nomen suum tam industriè celaverit, quasi temeritatis atque ignorantiae suæ conscius.

Ego vero cum *Dissertationis meæ* initio dixissem, *apud veteres Romanos, per prima aliquot ab Urbe conditâ secula, medendi Artem, non modo minis excultam, sed ne cognitam quidem esse, ex monumentorum omnium silentio suspicari nos posse.* Exclamat illico *Annotator hicce*^e; *initium ejus, lectores, advertite. De illorum conditione scribere virum doctissimum videtis, quos ne fuisse quidem suspicatur. Inde potestis intelligere quanta sit ejus in scri-*

^a Not. br. p. 8.

^b Ib. p. 15.

^c Ib. p. 16.

^d p. 17.

^e p. 4.

bendo diligentia & accuratio. Annon vero, *homo acute*, id scriptoris quam maxime diligentis, atque accurati est, rem in controversia agitatam ab ipsis fontibus exquirere, ab ipsis primordiis investigare? Annon de Arte Medica, disputantis; illa quo primùm tempore cognosci, quo deinde excoli cœperit, exponere?

Sed *omnino gravius Middletoni erratum*, inquit^m, *exemplo licebit agnoscere, quo tanquam fundamento nititur universum opus.* Quod disputaram scilicet, doctorum perplurium auctoritate, *Medicinam Clinicam & Chirurgicam ab eodem homine* semper exerceri, nec *Chirurgos a cæteris Medicis* antiquitus unquam distingui, quippe ex illa de *Medicorum Conditione* disputatione, aliam, ut supra dixi, tanquam e radice enatam vidimus de *Medicinæ partitione* quæstionem, quam alii certe omnes prioris ejus *appendicem*, seu *consequens* quoddam dicèrent, noster autem hicce *fundamentum* ubique appellat. *Itaque labefactato*, inquit, *ipsius fundamento corrui totum opus*ⁿ. Sed fundamentorum hicce everfor, videamus jam, quemadmodum opinionem meam refutet.

Et quoniam in hanc disputationis partem, etsi loco quidem haud satis idoneo, incidimus, ne eadem sæpiùs iterando lectori molestus essem, huc etiam illa quoque, quæ de eadem re *Responsionis Auctor* disputaverit, conferre visum est; præsertim cum communia fere inter se omnia utroque habere video. Primùm enim utrique se *unico Corn. Celsi loco* causam hanc omnem expedire, remque conficere posse censent; quo scilicet loco *Celsus de Medicinæ partitione, tanquam suo tempore Romæ usitatâ, loqui videtur*^o. At in omni quæstione

^m pag. 4.ⁿ p. 13.^o Not. br. p. 6. it. Respoa, p. 179.

dijudicandâ, quæ certi cujusdam temporis limitibus continetur, id omnino spectandum est; non tantum quid de re ipsa in controversia posita Auctores tradant, sed ad quæ potissimum tempora eorum verba referri debeant: de *Celsi* autem tempore nihil prorsus *Annotator noster* attulit; at *Tiberii ætate* eum floruisse *Responsionis Auctor* dicit¹, de quo tamen inter Auctores haud satis constare credo; convenit solummodo inter omnes eum *Cæsarum temporibus* vixisse; quod cum ita sit, cumque *Celsus* præsertim hoc ipso loco a Viris eruditissimis adducto *Medicinæ divisionem*, utcumque apud alias gentes diu invaluisset, at *Romæ* tamen nonnisi suo tempore *recentem nec diu usitatam* indicare plane videtur²; hoc ejus testimonium, utcumque *luculentum* atque *opportunitum* viris hisce videatur, haud quicquam tamen contra meam sententiam probare, nec causam fere ipsam attingere ab aliis certe omnibus judicabitur.

Ego vero, ut quivis facile conjiciet, haud *Celsi* omnia perlegisse præ me fero; mihi satis esse duco, quòd de *Medicis ipsis* doctissimos quosque sententiæ meæ auctores habeam, quodque eos omnes, qui in veterum scriptis evolvendis quam diligentissimè fuerint versati, eadem hæc omnia de *Medicinæ divisione* credidisse semper & disputasse reperiam: *Clericisque* ille potissimum, qui *totius Artis historiam* contexuit, quique non unum alterumve *Celsi* locum, sed omnes ejus libros ad hoc ipsum investigandum perscrutatus est, sese tamen dubitare planè fatetur, an *Medicæ Artis partitio Celsi adhuc ætate re vera facta & in usu omnino Romæ fuerit*.

Hoc autem in loco *Responsionis Auctor* mirum sane nobis tum ingenii, tum modestiæ suæ specimen præbet, qui mihi, uti alias sæpe

¹ Resp. p. 162. ² Ac Romæ quoque non mediocres Professores, maximeque nuper Tryphon, &c.

videbimus, *Clerici* locum istum corrumpendi atque ad sensus meos detorquendi crimen objicit; quippe *Clericum* non modo *de Medicinæ partitione istâ nihil dubitare*, sed *contrarium planè ex ejus verbis colligi posse fidenter atque apertè affirmat*^r. Ego vero contra; nullam mihi fidem nec in hac, nec alia quâvis causâ habendam posco, ni ex *Clerici* tum verbis tum sententiâ illud ipsum, quod dixeram, significari penitus appareat. *Clericus* enim, postquam ex *Celsi* verbis, sensuque, *Medicinæ in tres partes divisionem explicuisset*, ita deniquè concludit: *Soit que la chose se pratiquât effectivement ainsi de son temps; soit qu'il ait voulu simplement marquer comme elle devoit aller*^t. Quod ita quidem vertere licet; *sive tamen Celsi ætate partitio ista reverà ita in usu fuerit; sive id tantummodo in animo Celsus habuerit, ut significaret, quemadmodum ea fieri debuisset*, atque hanc, ut memini, dubitationis suæ rationem *Clericus* adjungit, quòd eam adhuc consuetudinem, vel *post Celsum*, in usu mansisse invenerat, ut omnes simul *Medicinæ partes a singulis Medicis unà exercerentur*. Itaque si *Celsi auctoritas* in hac quæstione aut nihil, aut parum valere poterit; multo certe minus *Galenus*, quem posterius vixisse novimus, quemque alterum sententiæ suæ auctorem noster hicce adducit ad hanc omnino causam advocandus erit: quod quidem videre, & concedere plane *Responsionis Auctorem* sentio^u. *Galenus* igitur testimonio contra opinionem meam prolato, nihil opus est, ut quicquam prorsus respondeam.

Pergit autem ostendere Vir acutus, quam *opinionem ipse ad- verser meæ*^v, qui *Archagathum illum*, quem primùm *Medicinæ*

^r Resp. p. 190.^t Vid. Resp. p. 191.^u Resp. p. 185.^v Not. br. p. 8.

exercendæ causâ Romam venisse legimus, *Chirurgum* fuisse confitear. Ego verò quidni *Archagathum Chirurgum* appellem, qui non eum solum, sed *Medicos etiam omnes*, quotquot *Romæ* deinceps vel aliquot post seculis artem suam exercuerint, *Chirurgos* fuisse, omnesque simul *Medicinæ* partes semper tractasse contendo, multisque exemplis probavi: quodque *Archagathus* iste vulnera curasse dicitur, id sententiam meam non evertere certè, sed confirmare potius judicabitur; nisi ex priori, ut aiunt, esset demonstratum, eos, qui *Chirurgicam Medicinæ partem* tractare solerent, nullam unquam aliam omnino attigisse.

Sed idem hocce de *Archagatho* argumentum pluribus etiam persequitur *Responsionis Auctor*; dicitque sibi perspicuum videri, cum *nil nisi Chirurgiam* exercuisse, propterea quod a *Plinio vulnerarius* appelletur^u: quasi nomen istud non idcirco adipisci potuisset, quod *vulnorum præcipue curationi* sese applicuisset, quodque eis magis quàm *morbis medendis* peritus ac expertus habebatur; utpote qui partem eam, in *Urbe* scilicet *bellicosâ*, reliquis forsitan pluris æstimari observasset. Cum vero propter *Archagathi* hujus in vulneribus curandis sævitiam, & *artem ipsam & omnes medicos in tædium cito transisse* discimus; causam sane nullam, quamobrem id fieret, videre queo; ni illis quoque temporibus *cæteri etiam Medici* eodem planè modo artem suam exercuissent & quod *Archagathum* fecisse contendo, *reliquas simul Medicinæ partes unâ* cum *Chirurgicâ* omnes administrassent.

At *Asclepiadem* denique *Medicum*, *Pompeii ætate* celeberrimum *Chirurgiam* omnino non attigisse *Annotator noster* affirmat; idque *librorum^x ejus inscriptionibus* declarari ait; proptereà quod

^v Resp. p. 182.

^x Not. br. p. 10.

inter opera ejus, quorum tituli solummodo aliquot nobis jam restant, nihil omnino *de Chirurgia* ab eo scripti memoriæ proditur : atque hoc idem à *Responsionis quoque Auctore* disputatum videmus^y. Præclarum fane Argumentum! quod vix alius, præter *hoc eruditorum par nobile*, excogitare unquam potuisset: *Asclepiades nihil de re Chirurgica aut scripti reliquit, aut quod reliquisset, periit; ergo Chirurgiam non omnino attigit*. Sed non vident Viri ingeniosi, *Asclepiadem dum Chirurgum fuisse negant*, at *Pharmacopolam* saltem fuisse, eodem illo Argumento concedant necesse est; scilicet quod de *medicamentorum compositione* eum scripssissetateantur. *Asclepiades* vero ipse, cum in *Anginis curandis* novam quandam curandi rationem instituisse traditur^z, a *Chirurgica artis parte* non omnino manus abstinuisse videtur.

Annotator autem *nos*ter tanquam rem omnino claram, certamque esse demonstrasset, hanc tandem conclusionem ex præmissis istis elicit: *Ergo fuit, inquit^a, Romæ Asclepiades Medicus Clinicus, nec Chirurgiam omnino attingens; Archagathus vero Chirurgus, nec reliquam Medicinam tractans; etiam ante Imperatorum tempora*. Ego vero si hisce ineptiis quicquam serio respondere aggrederer, memet sane, vel hominibus hisce ipsis insipientiorem censerì deberi judicarem.

Sed ad reliqua convellenda homo progreditur; & neque minus, inquit, *id Middletoni erratum est, ubi ex Mercurialis auctoritate, omnes Medicos usque ad Galeni tempora, sua medicamenta parasse ait^b*. Ubi candoris, æquitatisque ejus specimen obiter notare libet; non contentus enim meos omnes errores infectari, aliorum mihi errata imputat; & cum *Mercurialis*, viri eruditissimi

^y Resp. p. 197.^z Plin. Hist. Not. l. 26. 3.^a Not. br. p. 10.^b Not. br. p. 12.

verba, sententiamque exhibuissem, non minus me errâsse dicit, quàm si ex meipso essem locutus, meosque penitus sensus protulissem. *Mercurialem* verò *Plinii* ipse testimonio refellere conatur^c, quo loco *Plinius Medicos* quidem severè reprehendit, quod a *Medicaminibus conficiendis, quod proprium esse Medicinæ solebat, sese abstinere cæpissent, & præ medicamentorum ignorantia, quorum vel nomina pars major ignorabat, ab aliis emplastra & collyria mercari coacti essent.* Hæc autem verba haud satis attendit *Vir doctus*, quàm contra suam ipsius disputationem faciant, dum probant *Medicos* vel iis temporibus *Chirurgorum* munere aliquo fungi, atque *emplastra & collyria*, utcunque ab aliis facta & parata, suis tamen manibus tractare, atque ad usus destinatos applicare solere. Cum autem *Plinius* ipse *Galenum* haud longè ætate antecessit; hæc ejus verba *Mercurialis* itidem opinionem confirmare potius quàm evertere videntur, præsertim, si ut omnia generatim dicta intelligi debent, eam non nimis severè ac restrictè accipiamus: quod quidem a *Responsionis* etiam *Auctore* concessum planè animadverto^d.

Antequam vero hanc de *Medicinæ partitione* disputationem concludamus; ego fanè, qui nec in hac, nec in aliâ quâvis quæstione aliud mihi propositum habeam, ac quod verum, aut veri saltem simillimum sit, investigare, nequeo hic dissimulare, *Responsionis* illum, atque *Animadversionis brevis* Auctorem, locum quendam *Ciceronis* adduxisse, qui ad causam suam haud parum valere videtur^e: quod idem fane alias etiam, nec minus qui-

^c p. 13.

^d Resp. p. 187.

^e Resp. p. 182. it. Animad. br. p. 39. verba Ciceronis hæc sunt. Tum Crassus, Non in hac, inquit, una re, Catule, sed in aliis etiam compluribus, distributione

partium, ac separatione, magnitudines sunt artium diminutæ. An Tu existimas, cum esset Hippocrates ille Cous, fuisse tum alios Medicos, qui morbis; alios qui vulneribus: alios qui oculis mederentur? De Orat. l. 3. 33.

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dem liberè faterer, si quid apud eos solidi unquam aut probabilis invenissem. Atque hunc ipsum locum ego quidem post *Dissertationem* meam editam observaram, cumque amicis communicaram; quo scilicet indicare *Cicero* videtur, *medendi artem* vel *sua ætate* in *diversas partes* distribui, *singulasque a singulis* interdum administrari solere: quod quidem etsi non satis perspicuum sit, utrum de *Medicina*, uti tunc in *Græcia*, an uti *Romæ* exercebatur, accipiendum sit; concesso, tamen ad *Medicos* potius *Romæ degentes* id pertinere; at non inde tamen sequitur morem illum *universè* ac *generatim* tunc obtinuisse, sed aliquatenus solummodo processisse; quod tum ex eis, quæ in *Dissertatione mea* dixeram, tum innumeris aliis Auctorum veterum locis probari facile poterit.

Quod autem magis ad rem nostram est; ex hoc eodem loco videre possumus, quàm longe aliter *Cicero* de vera *Medicorum* laude ac præstantiâ, ac illi, quibuscum rem habemus, judicaverit: *nostri* enim *Medicorum propugnatores* eos tantum *servilis*^f atque *abjectæ sortis* fuisse asserunt, qui *omnes simul medicinæ partes*, *morborum* scilicet *vulnerumque* curationes una profiterentur^g; *Insignes autem viros, ac arte celebratos* uni tantum *parti se totos addixisse*——itaque *Clinicum* solummodo *Medicum* fabulæ suæ *Heroem* constituunt; eum solum & virum magnum & *Medici nomine* dignum judicant: siquis vero *Chirurgiam* vel digito attigerit: de *Medicorum* statim classe ac professione deji-ciunt. At *Ciceronem* contra, quàm longe diversa & contraria plane omnia de *Medicorum* dignitate sensisse videmus? qui *hac medicinæ partitione* artem ipsam discerptam, ejusque *laudem* & *magnitudinem imminutam* indicat; nec se eos in *medicis magnis*

^f Resp. p. 193.

^g Ib. p. 222.

atque excellentibus numerare ostendit, qui vel *marmorum* vel *con-
nerum medicinam separatim* atque *unice* profiterentur, sed qui,
Hippocratis exemplo, nullam *medicina partem* negligentes, aliis
figillatim exercendam relinquentes, *universam simul artem* com-
plexi atque unâ professi fuerint: camque hæc ab eo dici cen-
mus, qui eodem illo libro *Asclepiadem*, uti *Medicum* eximium
atque *amicum suum* laudaverit, nonne verisimile inde videtur
Asclepiadem ipsum de eorum numero esse, qui non *excerptam*
aliquam medicina partem, sed qui *universam* essent professi.

Utcunque vero *Medicorum & Chirurgorum* disjuncta & pro-
pria fuisse munera confiteamur, (quod *certum* non generatim
verum esse certissimum est) nullo tamen modo sequitur, *diversas*
propterea eorum *conditiones*, aut *vite fortes* fuisse; sed in eo
saltem temporis spatio, intra quod hanc nostram disputatio-
nem conclusimus, ejusdem certe loci atque ordinis utrosque
semper habitos esse apparet, ni in *Urbe*, ut supra dixi, *belli-
cosa* verisimile magis videatur, *Chirugos* seu *vulnerum medicos*
majori potius in pretio fuisse: ex omnibus enim *Romanorum*
Veterum Medicis duos potissimum Auctores nostri secernunt,
quos *veros ac Germanos Chirugos* fuisse affirmant, *Archagathum*,
atque *Alcontem*; eum, quod *Vulnerarius*; hunc, quod *vulne-
rum Medicus* dicitur^b: quorum alteri tantos sane honores,
quantos nulli unquam *Medico*, ante *Casarum ætatem*, habitos
cognovimus; *Civitatem datam*, *tabernamque publico emptam*: Al-
ter vero, sub *Claudio Imperatore*, in eorum numero a *Plinio*
celebratur, qui maximos atque incredibiles fere quæstus ex
arte sua confecissent. Habeant igitur homines nostri, si ve-
linť, quod tantopere contendunt, *illos scilicet duos, vere ac pro-
prie Chirugos* fuisse; hoc tamen nobis concedere necesse erit,

^b Plin. Hist. N. l. 29. 1.

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eos, si non majori, at pari saltem cum cæteris Medicis honore fuisse.

Sed de *Medicæ artis partitione* jam satis dictum opinor; ad ea igitur pergamus, quæ de ipsa Quæstionis summa, de *servili* scilicet *Medicorum conditione* *Annotator* hicce disputat. Atque hic conqueri eum graviter, meque insimulare video; quod *Medicos malitiosè deprimere studerem*¹; quod, *siquid in eos congerere possem, de veritate non essem sollicitus*^k. Quod, *quæ de humillimas Medicinæ partes tractantibus dicta usquam reperissem, in universos artis Professores transfulissem*^l: quod, *ea de Medicis generatim asseruissem*, quæ^m non de Medicis Clinicis, nec Chirurgis quidem bonis, sed de Phlebotomis solummodo, Auriculariis, Herniariis, re-ventoribus, enematumvè administratoribus intelligi debere contendit.

Ego verò contra; etsi de *Medicis Veteribus* alios aliis longe præstitisse sciam: Utque inter *Annotatorem*, qui *Medicinæ sese Doctorem* jactitat, scriptis verò *Artem* dedecorat, *Principesque illos viros*, qui non *Arti suæ* solummodo, sed *genti etiam toti* scriptis suis gloriam afferunt, immane quiddam discrepare videmus; ita *Romæ* quoque nonnullos olim tum scientiâ, tum famâ, magnorumque familiaritate cæteris omnibus antecelluisse necesse est: hos tamen universos, cum doctos, tum indoctos, cum summos, tum infimos, absque ullâ exceptione, *Græcos* certè aut *Peregrinos*, sed maximam longè partem *Servos* & *Libertos* fuisse, affirmare haud dubitaverim.

Etenim num omnino cuiquam credibile videri potest, magnos illos *Reipublicæ Romanæ Principes*, quos *Medicos Servos* in familiis suis semper habuisse cognovimus, non *Artis peritissimos quosque* ex Asiâ, Græciâve conquiesivisse, sed *Auricularium* solum-

¹ Not. br. p. 23

^k Ib. 13.

^l Ib. 14

^m Ib. 17.

modo, vel *reunctorum* aliquem domi apud se tenuisse? Num *Consules* ac *Imperatores*, quos *Medicos Servos* secum semper in provincias eduxisse legimus, *Pblebotomo* alicui vel *Unguentario* valetudinem suam commisisse putandum est? Num denique verisimile est, *Cæsarem Augustum*, cum *Germanico* in acie militanti *Medicum Servum* unà cum *C. Caligula* tunc infantulo mitteret, *enematum* solummodo *administratorem*, annon *Medicum* potius gravem, fide & scientiâ præstantem, de *Servis suis* misisse? De hoc sane neminem præter hunc Annotatorem dubitare posse certò scio.

Ille vero huic meæ disputationi *Asclepiadis Medici* famam & dignitatem opponit. *Reputate, quæso*, inquit, *quantus vir fuit Asclepiades*^a *quantam apud summos viros auctoritatem sit consecutus*; adeo ut non gravaretur ille *Romanæ eloquentiæ Princeps Cicero*, cum, ut *amicum suum concelebrare*. Qui quidem honos summus haberi posset; ni major etiam ipsi contigisset: etenim a *Mitridate*, *maximo Rege sollicitatus est*, ut ad illum veniret. En verò alterum hominis specimen! qui *Ciceronis* amicitiae & familiaritati, *lucrum*, *stipendiumque* a *Rege barbaro* oblatum honore anteposit. Sed *Asclepiadem* longè aliter sensisse videmus, qui maluit, in illa Urbis luce, laude & gratia apud *Optimates*, quàm apud *Mitridatem* opibus florere. *Asclepiadis* autem hujus honores, utcunque magnos eos fuisse concedamus, ad hanc tamen causam nequaquam pertinere contendo: de ejus enim conditione nihil fere memoriæ traditum habemus, nisi quòd *ex levissima gente, & sine ullis opibus, ex Rhetore Medicus evaserit*^o: & quantuscunque demum fuerit, nec nominis famâ, nec honoribus, vitæque splendore cum *Antonio Musa* conferendum existimo: quem tamen *servum* fuisse cognoscimus; atque *Asclepia-*

^a Not. br. p. 8, 9.

^o Plin. Hist. Not. l. 26. 3.

dem igitur nisi hominem Romanum, nisi non servum, nec Græcum fuisse Auctor noster probaverit, nihil omnino contra meam sententiam disputare a viris doctis censebitur.

Neque illa minùs futilia, minùsve ab hac omni quæstione aliena, quæ de *Artis Medicæ fructu* olim ingenti, *opibusque Professorum* homo eruditus disserit. *Legatis quæso*, inquit, *locum Plinii de quæstibus medicorum*^r: quasi de *divitiis*, & non de *conditione Medicorum* disputatio nostra instituta esset: nos autem, ut ait Cicero¹, *neque divitiæ movent, quibus omnes Africanos & Lælios multi Venalitii & Mercatores superarunt*. Sed noster hicce cum *Medicos suos divites* fuisse ostenderit, omnia se probasse putat; nec scire planè videtur, quod Romæ sæpissime contigisse legimus, magnorum scilicet Virorum tum *Libertos*, tum *Servos*, qui apud Dominos suos gratiâ florerent, ingentes sibi opes ac potestatem adipisci solere: quorum nonnullis *vel Prætoria interdum Ornamenta* decerni legimus; *tantùmque non cum laureatis fascibus remitti illo, unde cretatis pedibus advenissent*^r; De quo quidem argumento, librum me alicubi vidisse memini, de *eis* scilicet *Servis* conscriptum; qui summam sibi auctoritatem, immensasque divitias ex *Servitute* confecisse a Veteribus memorantur, *Pliniusque*, in celebri illâ ad *Trajanum Oratione*, non dubitat dicere, *Imperatores ipsos, cum essent Civium domini, libertorum tamen fuisse servos*. Quid igitur, Vir ingeniose, de his tantis Viris constituendum putas? Annon in *Servorum & Libertorum* propterea grege numerandos censes, quod gratia, opibus, auctoritate eos floruisse accepimus? Numve eadem planè omnia de *Divite tuo* cogitas, quæ *Stoici de Sapiente suo* jactitant, eum videlicet vel ex *infima sorte Nobilem*; vel in *Servitute Liberum* esse.

^r Not. br. p. 15.¹ Orator.^r Plin. Hist. Not. l. 35. 18.

Vides jam opinor, aut si tu quidem minùs, at alii certe omnes vident *Notarum tuarum* futilitatem: Ego *Medicos Romæ degentes*, præsertim *ante Cæsarum ætatem*, aut *Servos* aut *Liber-tos*, aut *Peregrinos* saltem omnes fuisse disputo. Tu verò, qui *fundamenta mea* labefactas, qui me *Calumniatorem* appellas, quid tandem contra affers? at contra *legatis quæso*, inquis, *locum Plinii de quæstibus Medicorum*. Nihil scilicet aliud ostendere conaris, ac *Medicorum* nonnullos *Artis famâ* floruisse, *magnos quæstus* fecisse, *Optimatibus caros* fuisse, idque non nisi *Cæsarum temporibus*; quæ tibi omnia, absque ullo causæ meæ detrimento, libens concedere possum.

Sed commoveri jam atque irasci planè hominem video, quòd *Sexaginta Solidos* pretium olim fuisse *Medicis servis à jure Civili* constitutum observassem: exclamat illicò, *an vobis hoc credibile est? an quemquam ex Romanis creditis tam amentem fore, ut tantum hominem tam parvo pretio venderet?* credere scilicet videtur *Vir doctus*, atque *Antiquitatis tantopere intelligens*, me de *nostris* omnino *solidis* esse locutum; clausulamque illam, quam in *Syn-graphis* adjungi viderat, hic quoque subintelligi debere existimat; videlicet, *bonæ & legalis monetæ Anglicæ*.—Ut verò hanc ei molestiam aliquatenùs minuam, nec tam acerbè posthac ferat *Artis juxta professores* tantulo olim venissè; scire eum velim quicquid de *solidis istis* dixeram, de *Romanis prorsus solidis* esse intelligendum; quorum singulos, ut nonnulli, atque optimi illi quidem Auctores, tradunt, *Sexdecim* circiter de nostris pretio æquasse reperio^t.

At majores adhuc *Medicus noster* clamores ciet, propterea quod *Medicinæ professionem Civis Romani* gravitate seu existimatione

^t Not. br. p. 16.

Vid. *Arbutnot of Coir*

p. 163.

in d'gnam,

indignam, Plinio Auctore ^u asseruissim. Quippe id, inquit, à solo Middletono apud Plinium legitur^w. De indignitate autem Artis, apud Plinium nè verbum quidem ullum est; sed eam vocem INDIGNAM ad Plinii verba à bono Theologo adtextam videtis, quo vobis fucum faceret. Atque eadem ferè omnia de hoc Plinii loco post Annotatorem nostrum iterat egregius iste Responsionis Auctor; miraturque Middletonum curam attentiores in Scriptis Veterum citandis atque explicandis non adhibuisse. Non enim, inquit^x, dicit Plinius (ut ille nobis persuadere studet) medendi Artem Romanos gravitate suâ indignam judicasse; nec qui eam attigerint, tanquam ad Græcos transfugas fuisse habitos. Neque vox indignam hic legitur, neque Voces, ad Græcos transfugæ, eo sensu dicuntur quem is confingit. Quantum in utrisque consensum, quantam in me criminando concordiam videmus? Ego vero tantorum virorum conjunctos simul impetus haud unquam sustinere potero. Itane vero Viri ingeniosi? nihilne dicitis de Medicinæ indignitate apud Plinium reperiri? Quid igitur statuendum putatis, non dicam de bono Theologo, sed de bonis istis Medicis^y, qui Artis suæ defensionem contra Plinium ipsum susceperunt; qui de Artis, inquam, dignitate libros aliquot contra Plinium scripserunt? annon illos eadem omnia, ac Middletonum, de Artis indignitate apud eum legisse creditis? An eos quoque voces finxisse dicetis? Numve Vos tandem soli, tales stulti, bardique (ut Annotatoris verbis utar) reperiemini, ut quod alii omnes facillè vident, nec videre nec

^u Solam hanc Græcarum Artium nondum exercet Romana Gravitas in tanto fructu. Paucissimi Quiritium attigere, & ipsi statim ad Græcos transfugæ: imo vero auctoritas aliter quàm Græcè eam tractantibus etiam apud imperitos expertesque linguæ non est. Plin. Hist. 1. 29. 1.

^w Not. br. p. 18.

^x Resp. p. 49.

^y Jo. Filescus. Medicinæ defensio adversus Plinium majorem 8vo. Par. 1618 it. G. Kirstenius de Medicinæ dignitate contra Plinium & Platonem 4to Stetini 1647.

intelligere poteritis? Sed exclametis licet, quantum volueritis; Ego contra contendo atque affirmo, *Plinium* hoc ipso in loco asserere, *Romanos* propterea *medendi Artem* neglexisse, nec ad eam exercendam ullo quaestu allici potuisse, quod *gravitate sua indignam* eam judicarint: paucissimosque illos qui *Plinii tandem ætate* ad eadem sese applicuissent, ad *Græcos transfugere*, id est, à *Græcis hominibus* artis præcepta petere, & vel *Græcè* loqui, scribere, præscriptaque Medica tradere fuisse coactos: quippe cum *Romæ* ab ipsis Artis primordiis, *Medicinæ omnis administratio* non nisi *Græcorum in manibus* versata esset; nulla planè Auctoritas aliter ac *Græcè cum tractantibus* etiam apud imperitos erat.

Romanos autem homines artium certè *Græcarum*, quàm maxime cupidos, atque avidos planè fuisse cognovimus; & quicquid *Græcia* habuerit quod *omnino expetendum esset*, id studio & industria sua ad se statim transtulisse²: eoque præterea ingenio fuisse; ut omnia consequi potuissent, ut primum velle cæpissent; nec consequi solummodo: sed à *Græcis ipsis accepta vel meliora etiam & perfectiora facere solere*, siquæ, ut ait Cicero¹, *digna statuissent in quibus elaborarent*. Itaque cum ex omnibus *Græcorum Artibus*, *Medicinam* solam eos neglexisse cernimus; quam aliam causam probabilem, vel omnino ullam excogitare aut fingere possumus, nisi quod *Civibus suis* nec *expetendam* nec *gravitate sua dignam* judicarint; quod *Plinius* profecto hoc ipso in loco verbis nullo modo dubiis aut obscuris declarat, cum dicat, *Hanc solam Artium Græcarum Romanam gravitatem vel tanto in fructu nunquam attigisse*. Itaque vox illa INDIGNAM quam Vos tantopere stomachamini, etsi in *Plinii* quidem verbis non reperitur, ad sententiam tamen constituendam necessario requiritur: neque

¹ Cic. Tusc. q. 2. 2.

² Ib. 1. 1. it Ib. 4. 2.

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de voculis ego Auctorum, sed de sensibus omnino disputandum esse cenſeo: veſtramque loci hujus interpretationem, nec *Plinii* mentem attingere nec ſenſum plane ullum continere dico. Quod dicit autem *Reſponſionis Auctor* voces eas, ad *Græcos Transfugæ*, non eo ſenſu accipi debere, quem ego conſinxeram; ego ſane quid ſibi velit, non intelligo; niſi quod calumniandi occaſionem, cum nulla prorſus fuerit oblata, arripere ſtudeat; quippe ego *vocibus iſtis* nullam omnino interpretationem ſenſumve meum dederam, ſed nudas eas ſolummodo, ut in *Plinio* legantur, protuleram.

Atqui ad unicum jam libelli hujus locum devenimus, quo me cum aliquâ veritatis ſpecie aut ratione probabili premere atque urgere *Annotator* videtur: ſcilicet quod *Suetonii* locum quendam ad cauſam meam detorſiſſem, & tum verba, tum ſenſus, aliter ac in Auctore eo reperiuntur, dediſſem; quod an *incuriæ* ſeu *malitiæ* potiùs *meæ* tribuendum ſit, poſtquam pauliſper dubitaverit, *malitiæ* ſtatim & illi *ſummæ* quidem assignat; *meque falſitate aperta incautos circumvenire in animo habuiſſe* inſimulat^b. Quis autem, præter *Medicaſtrum buncce*, *malitiæ exercendæ* cauſam, aut locum quidem ullum hac in re invenire potuiſſet? etenim hoc *Suetonii* *teſtimonium* ſi de *Differtatione mea* penitùs tolleretur, num claudicaret ideo quæſtio noſtra? numve detrimenti omnino quicquam caperet? quid ſi hoc in loco *Medicos* in *Peregrinis* & non in *Servitiis* numerari fatendum ſit? id num *Annotatoris* *cauſæ* omnino inſervit? num meam debilitat; qui *Medicos*, partim *Servos*, partim *Libertos*, omnes tamen *Peregrinos* fuiſſe diſputo? Si ex his, inquam, verbis *Medicos* de *Servorum grege* fuiſſe minùs probetur; nonne ex aliis permultis *ejuſdem Suetonii* locis *Servos eos fuiſſe* aperte demonſtratur? itaque

^b Not. br. p. 19.

fatui plane hominis fuisset, malitiam ibi adhibere, ubi detecta infamiam certam inureret, celata vero nihil prorsus ad controversiæ summam conferret. Sicut autem *a malitiæ*, ita vellem sanè ab *incuriæ* & *negligentiæ* crimine memet æque defendere possèm: sed ut fatear planè quod res est; cum duos ad eandem rem Auctores in *Commentariolis notatos* haberem; unum quidem, qui totidem planè verbis id quod posueram, significaret; alterum vero, qui eidem aliquo modo favere, atque ex parte declarare videretur; quemque idcirco notaram, nec verba tamen ejus descripseram; præ nimia tandem festinatione & negligentia Auctores ipsos adire omittens, nec pluribus in re unâ testibus opus esse putans, eum quem minùs oportuit, *Suetonium* scilicet *Orosii loco* ad causam meam adhibui: quod *Responsionis* quidem *Auctor*, mihi licet aliàs haud satis æquus, hoc tamen in loco fieri necesse esse agnoscit^c. Id vero in re tam apertâ, tamque parum ad controversiæ summam pertinente, an *incuriæ* seu *malitiæ* potiùs tribuendum sit, haud opus est pluribus ostendere: illud tantummodo dicam; quod etsi plures etiam hujusmodi errores in *Scriptorum verbis exponendis Auctores nostri* aliàs sæpe, idque satis fidenter mihi objiciant, illos tamen, quoties exemplis rem illustrare aggredientur, inscitia toties suæ aut malitiæ Argumenta præbituros.

Aunotator autem *nos*ter, tanquam causam jam omnem expediisset, controversiamque penitùs absolvisset; *Minimi*, inquit, *momenti sunt reliqua, quæ a Middletono prolata sunt, &c.*^d & *per multa talia sunt, quæ vos ipsi nè quidem digna refutatione censebitis*. At nullius igitur ponderis esse credis, tot illa Scriptorum veterum testimonia, quæ *Medicos Romæ degentes, Servos* maximam partem fuisse clare atque aperte declarant? num minimi momenti esse, nec refutatione quidem digna putas, tot illa *genuina*

^c Resp. p. 81.

^d Not. br p. 19.

^e Ib. p. 23.

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vetustatis monumenta, tot antiquas inscriptiones, quæ plurima nobis Medicorum Servorum nomina ad hæc usque tempora conservant? numve illa omnia minus propterea Auctoritatis apud lectores habitura existimas, quod ad ea Tu ne verbum quidem unum respondere fueris dignatus?

Pergit tamen more suo, *Vir egregius, ad aliam, uti ait^f, Middletoni calumniam refellendam, qui negat, Medicinam inter liberales artes apud Romanos haberi: ad Middletonum igitur redarguendum loca quædam è Jure Civili profert, quæ probant, non id quidem ullo modo quod oportuit, Medicinam scilicet in Artibus Liberalibus numerari; sed illud solummodo, quod omnes scimus, & concedimus, videlicet, Medendi Artem juxta ac Artes Liberales immunitatibus & privilegiis ab Imperatoribus tandem auctam & munitam fuisse. Atque hæc dum scribit, videt ille quidem, quam nihil prorsus ad suam causam pertineant, & fateri aperte cogitur, Artem Medicam^g a reliquis Artibus Liberalibus quodammodo segregari & distingui; eamque apud Veteres non tam in studiis liberalibus, quæ ab ingenuis colebantur, quam in Artibus necessariis haberi: quis autem hominem unquam tam petulantem, tamque absurdum simul vidit; qui argumenti sui initio Middletoni calumniam id esse dicit, quod antequam locum ipsum dimittat, verum omnino esse agnoscit? nec quicquam sane hoc in loco acutius meliusve sese gessit Responsionis Auctor. sed eadem fere omnia protulit; & postquam contra sententiam meam, idque multis quidem verbis, disputaverit; fatetur tandem per Artes Liberales eas præcipue ab Auctoribus intelligi, quibus ingenui pueri in scholis institui solebant; nec nisi posterioribus seculis Jurisconsultos tam lato sensu Liberales Artes accepisse, ut Medicinam quoque eo nomine complecterentur^h. Sed de hoc omni Artium Liberalium genere alium mox dicendi locum, atque eum magis*

^f Ib. p. 20.

^g Not. br. p. 22.

^h Resp. p. 74.

quidem opportunum, habebimus; cum *Rhetorem nostrum* in *Cicerone* ad suam hac in re sententiam interpretando, turpiter lapsum demonstrabimus.

Annotator autem interea, tanquam Victor e certamine rediens, triumphum plane agere, & *Middletonum* currum suum sequentem, catenisque vinctum *Medicis suis* ostentare sibi videtur. *Jam satis demonstratum*, exclamat, *quàm futilia atque etiam falsa pro gravibus & certissimis argumentis habuerit Middletonus; quàmque facilè refutentur ea, quæ in Medicos tanto studio congeffit. Etenim testimonia ejus præcipua, vel Clinicos quos deprimere tantopere studet, minime attingentia, vel omnino per incuriam depravata, per malitiamve ficta, vel denique Veterum testimoniis certissimis contraria deprehendistis*ⁱ. Hujusmodi autem exclamationibus, haud sane expectandum erit, ut quidquam omnino respondeam; cum nihil certe aliud requiritur ad vanitatem hominis ostendendam, quam ipsius verba referre atque exponere: sin autem inventi aliqui sint, istiusmodi ingenii homines, qui ejus vel *disputandi acumen* vel *scribendi stilum* probare possunt; siqui, inquam, sint, qui *Notis hisce brevibus* cum quidquam | rorsus aliud demonstrasse credant, ac suam ipsius ignorantiam, temeritatem, malevolentiam; istiusmodi certe hominibus ego nec satisfacere curo, nec mea omnino placere cupio.

Me tamen *homo factus* deridendum ^k proponit, propterea quod *Greci Tragici* versiculo *Romanorum hominum* consuetudinem quandam demonstrare esse aggressus: de *Servis scilicet ab iis studiis atque Artibus quibus ipsi delectabantur, lege arcendis*: nonne verò *Romani etiam Poetæ* testimonium ad rem eandem confirmandam adjeci? idque nonne omnium recte ac dilucide disputantium est, quam rem susceperint probandam, eam rem primùm universe veram, aliarumque gentium notionibus consen-

ⁱ Not. br. p. 23.

^k Ib. p. 23.

taneam, deinde apud eos homines præcipue de quibus questio instituitur, in usu fuisse ostendere? Sed *Annotatori* hic quoque subsidio venit *Responsionis Auctor*, & *Terentium*, quo auctore usus essem, ad *Atticorum solummodo*, non ad *Romanorum mores respicere affirmat*¹: quasi non perinde ac in *Græcia*, ita *Romæ* etiam eandem legem obtinuisse constaret; ubi *Servos* non a *causis modo orandis*, sed vel a *testimonio dicendo* prohibitos cognovimus. Sed de objectionis hujus futilitate pluribus mox disputabimus, cum illuc pervenerimus, ubi *Plauti* etiam in re consimili testimonium *Auctorem nostrum* rejicere cernemus.

Dixeram autem in *Dissertatione meâ*, nullam per aliquot secula de *Medicinâ*, tanquam de re humili nimis atque abjecta, a *Scriptoribus Romanis mentionem fieri*: atque alio loco; *Græculos eos*, qui *Romam sese Medicinæ exercendæ causâ contulissent*, etsi *liberos quidem nonnullos fuisse concedamus*, generatim tamen *humilis seu potius infimæ sortis homines fuisse*. Id homini stomachum movere video; quæritque a me, quoniam *Scriptorum Veterum testimonio*, id mihi *affirmandum sumam*, idque nullo prorsus *Auctore*, sed ex *propriâ scientiâ me posuisse dicit*: mihi autem *fidem non habendam*, quippe qui dudum *mala fide egerim*². Quasi id omnino testimoniis egeret, quod per se clarum & perspicuum esset; quasi, inquam, non sensus communis omnes præter hunc unum docuisset; de qua scilicet re monumenta plane omnia silent; nec *Historici mentionem ullam faciunt*, eam rem aut omnino non existisse, aut nihil saltem *celebratione seu memoria dignum suppeditasse*.

Atqui idem etiam hoc in loco *Responsionis Auctor* a me quærit, quo scilicet *argumento Medicos hosce liberos, humilis atque abjectæ conditionis fuisse demonstrarem*³. Illud vero nonne per se quoque æque perspicuum est? nonne id, inquam, ratio sensusque communis evincunt, homines illos, qui *quæslus victusque quæ-*

¹ Resp. p. 60.² Not. br. p. 25.³ Resp. p. 62.

rendi causâ, de patria sua in alienam migrant, humilis seu infimæ potiùs sortis maximam partem esse? num divites, num beati, num famâ atque opibus florentes natale solum exilio mutare solent, ut lucrum sibi apud exteras gentes non sine probro atque odio conficiant? num Græci præcipuè hoc omnino facere voluerint, qui omnium longè maximè patriam cùm suam amaverint, tum alienas contempserint? etsi verò me nullius omnino Auctoris sententiam ne detortam quidem flectamvè ad opinionem meam confirmandam protulisse Annotator affirmat^o; nonne Plutarchi tamen^p verbis clarissimis ostenderam, totam Græcorum gentem odio & contemptui Romanis fuisse, ipsumque nomen Græcus a plebe semper in ore convitii loco haberi & jactitari solere?

Sed quid hoc ad Medicorum conditionem Responsionis auctor ait, si mos esset Romanæ plebeculæ, Græcorum gentem ita tractare^q? Tu verò cum Medicos tuos & Græcos & Romæ tamen honoratos & splendidos fuisse disputas; nonne contra sententiam tuam vim aliquam habere videtur, quòd ostenderam, Græcos plane omnes, qualiscunque fuerint Artis aut conditionis, Romæ non nisi in probro & dedecore versari: & quam aliam ob causam hoc fieri putandum est, nisi quod id hominum genus egenum, fordium, esuriens, populus Romanus semper cognovisset. Num cuiquam igitur præter auctores nostros verisimile videri potest, Principes Græcorum Medicos, gratiâ apud suos & dignitate florentes, atque amplissima fortuna usos, Romam quæstûs causâ migrare velle, ut tam iniquâ conditione viverent, ut sibilis & contumeliis a plebe exciperentur?

Annotator autem, postquam in sententia mea refutandâ tantum frustra laboris consumpserit; videt tandem atque apertè fatetur, hanc meam disputationem non modo dedecoris nihil, sed laudem potiùs & gloriam Arti Medicæ afferre, quæ Professores

^o Not. br. p. 25.

^p Dissert. p. 9.

^q Resp. p. 63.

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fios ex ignobili illo servitutis statu, ad libertatem sæpissime atque honores coehere solet^r. In quo tandem uno utrique facilè consentimus; etenim hunc ego honorem nec *Medendi Arti* invidео, nec quicquam contra disputare aggrediar: vellem solummodo, hoc idem initio homo vidisset; nec sibi quidem tam turpiter scribendi infamiam, nec mihi tam ridiculi hominis castigandi fastidium peperisset: quippe non odium certe aut reprehensio ulla, sed gratiæ mihi potiùs a *Medicis* debentur, qui eam causam defenderim ac probarim, quam *Arti suæ* honorem laudemque adjungere satentur.

Sed *ab ipso Cicerone jamdudum*, inquit¹, *dijudicata est hæc controversia, locusque suus Medicinæ tributus, neque primus is quidem neque secundus, at medius certe, &c. tantum rogo ut sententiam ipsam, non ut apud Middletonum discerpitur sed integram legere dignemini, &c.* Oh hominem omnium sane sagacissimum! 'qui inter *Primum & Secundum, Medium* quiddam Princeps invenerit! Egonè verò *Ciceronis* locum illum discerpsi, qui omnia quæ ad questionem nostram pertinerent, integrè quidem ipsissimisque ejus verbis protuleram? quippe cum de *Medicina sola* hæc omnis disputatio institueretur, quid mihi cum reliquis *iis Artificiis*, a *Cicerone* enumeratis; *Coquis, Mercatoribus, Agricolis, &c.* rei esset planè non videbam. Ille verò postquam hæc omnia in *Notas suas breves* integra transfulerit; *babetis hic*, inquit, *plenam atque apertam Ciceronis sententiam, quam filii instituendi gratiâ posuit, &c.* existimat forsitan *Fir bonus*, hæc ad *Filium* ideo scripsisse *Ciceronem*, ut artem aliquam ex ibi memoratis, *Medicinam* scilicet seu *Mercaturam* adolescens sibi exercendam deligeret: sed optimo, fateor, consilio, longam hanc *Ciceronis* periodum, etsi nihil quidem ad rem spectantem, huc tamen integram traduxerit, ut

¹ Not. br. p. 26.

² Not. br. p. 26

sensus tandem aliquis atque *Oratio pura*, quæ in reliquo suo opere requiruntur, in *tribus saltem pagellis* hiæc reperirentur.

Ciceronem autem quandoquidem is appellat, cujus quidem Auctoritate nihil mihi sanctius esse potest, eum nobis Judicem constituamus: atque omiſſis iis, quæ de *cæteris*, ut dixi, *artibus*, nihil ad nos pertinentibus, hoc in loco differat; *Medicinæ* solummodò quem locum gradumve assignet unicè consideremus: *quibus autem Artibus*, inquit Cicero, *aut prudentia major inest, aut non mediocris utilitas, ut Medicina, &c. hæc sunt iis, quorum Ordini conveniunt, honestæ.* Hic vero quantum, *Dii boni*, eruditionis, quantum doctrinæ reconditoris *homo noster* ostentat? etenim *Asconium Pedianum, Manutiosque ambos*¹, *Paullum atque Aldum* testes adhibet, Vocem eam, *ORDO, dignitatis alicujus* significationem continere; atque ad *Senatum, Equitesve* ad minimum, ad *plebē* vero nullo modo referri oportere: *Servorum* vero & *Libertinorum* non *Ordinem* sed *conditionem* dici solere: atqui eum hac saltem vice felicem fateamur necesse est, quod magnorum tandem nominum auctoritate nugari sibi contigit. Hoc autem omne quod tam erudite disſeruit, si aliàs verum interdum esse concedamus; nōne videt tamen *Vir egregius* quàm hoc in loco non solum *Ciceronis* sed *sue* etiam *ipsius* sententiæ contradicat; etenim num nobis hac suâ eruditione persuadere vellet, *medendi Artem*, iis temporibus *Senatorio* seu *Equestri saltem Ordini* fuisse honestam? at nemo unquam tam temerarius fuit ut id diceret: neque is ipse *ea audacia, eoque Artis amore* id quidem vel mſſitare audet; sed aperte fatetur, nec *Primum* nec *Secundum* dignitatis gradum *ad Medicos* pertinere, sed *Medium*, ut supra dixi, *nescio quem.* Sicut autem nec *Senatorem* nec *Equitem* unquam temporibus illis *Medicinam* exercuisse certissimum est: ita nec *de Plebe* magis aliquem nec *Civem omnino ullum*

¹ Not. lit. p. 28

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eam attigisse contendo: neque illi omnes, qui hanc sententiam impugnauerint, vel *unum* quidem *hominem Romanum*, qui *Medicinam, ante Cæsarium ætatem*, fuerit professus, ostendere unquam potuerint; quod quidem vel *Responsionis Auctor* fateri plane cogitur, nec *ullum ante eam ætatem de Romanis Medicum* extitisse concedit^u: itaque quid nobis aliud relictum est hominum genus, de quo *Cicero* loqui intelligatur, cuius Vox illa, ORDINI applicetur, quàm, quem ipse dixeram, *Servorum, Libertorum & Peregrinorum Ordo*?

Vides jam, opinor, non temere me ac fortuito, sed re prius perpensâ & consideratâ, ad *Ciceronem interpretandum* accessisse: Vides, inquam, istam tuam eruditionem, etiam si vera nonnunquam esset, in hac tamen causâ nec locum ullum habere, nec lucis quicquam afferre: sed quid tandem dices, si *futilem, falsumque eam* prorsus esse ostendero? etenim ex multis *Scriptorum Veterum* locis probare facile possum, Vocem meam, ORDO, apud *optimos Latinatis Auctores* nihil aliud significare, ac *certum quodlibet hominum genus, communi aliqua vitæ sorte, vel abjecta atque infima* utentium.

Conveni *hodie hominem mei loci atque Ordinis*^w.

Nonne hoc de homine squalido & miserrimo à *Gnathone Parasito* dicitur? *Ciceronem* etiam ipsum, quem nobis *judicem* constituisti, hanc eandem vocem non *Senatui* modo *Equitibusve*, sed *Plebi* quoque sæpissime & *Libertinis interdum ipsis*, abjectaque sortis hominibus, *Apparitoribus & Scribis* * applicare memini. Item in *Inscriptione quâdam Sepulchrali* mulier de marito loquens.

Qui me ab imo Ordine ad summum perduxit honorem^y.

^u Resp. p. 164. it. p. 220.

^w Ter. Eun. 2. 2.

^x In Pison. 8. In Catal. 4. 8. In Verr.

1. 47. In Verr. 3. 78.

^y Gruter. p. 353.

Homo autem *noster*, qui *Auctorum verba discerpendi* atque *aliena adtexendi* crimen mihi objicit, videamus jam qualem tandem ex hoc omni *Ciceronis* loco sententiam extorserit. *Uti-que* *huc tandem*, inquit, *res redit*. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO AIT, MEDICINÆ PROFESSIONEM, HONESTO CIVIUM ORDINI DECORAM ESSE; CONYERS MIDDLETON NEGAT EAMQUE ESSE SORDIDAM, ILLIBERALEM, CIVE PRORSUS INDIGNAM AFFIRMAT: UTRI CREDITIS QUIRITES²:

Quis jam non summam *hominis* vel *inscitiam*, vel *temeritatem*, vel utrumque potiùs admirabitur, qui hunc locum aut tam parùm intellexerit, aut tam fœdè corruerit? ille tamen, quasi *impudentia* gloriaretur, hoc *ingenii sui commentum*, tanquam *legis*, aut *Senatus Consulti* vim obtineret, *literis majusculis* describendum¹ curavit. At in hoc omni *Ciceronis* loco, num de *ullo omnino Civium Ordine*, nedum *bonesto aliquo*, verbum quidem unum reperitur? num *Medicinæ professio*, *Romanis omnino hominibus* convenire dicitur? nihil certè minùs: nec quicquam fanè aliud, ex verbis ipsis elici aut intelligi potest, ac *Artes eas humiliores*, isti hominum generi, cui propter *vitæ sortem* convenirent, laudem quandam & decus afferre; quod de *Servis*, *Libertis*, & *Peregrinis* prorsus accipiendum esse abundè demonstravi.

Sed quoniam *Ciceronem* appellavimus; quid de verbis istis existimandum putas, ubi is *ingenui nihil ex Officina prodire posse* affirmat? nonne id *Medicos* aliquo modo attingere credis, quos omnes *Officinas suas* habuisse notissimum est? de illo itidem altero, quem tu *verissimum esse* dicis, quid cogitas? scilicet, *Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria, jacentque ea semper, quæ apud quosque improbantur*³. Etenim si quod omnes plane

² Not. br. p. 29.

³ Not. br. p. 31.

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fatentur, nec honores ulli *Medendi Arti* constituti, nec ad studium ejus promovendum *gloria ulla* ante *Cæsarum ætatem* fuerit unquam proposita; tum, *Cicerone ipso judice, jacuisse eam ac contemptam prorsus fuisse* necesse est.

Sed ad *Responsionis jam Auctorem* nosmet convertere necesse est, qui hunc itidem *Ciceronis* locum in librum suum idcirco transtulit, *ut me non minus*, uti ait^b, *In Ciceronis ac in Plinii ante verbis exponendis lapsus ostendat*: in hoc autem loco interpretando, quod vix fieri posse credideram, *vel Annotatore ipso* stultiorem sese longe ac leviolem præbuit: disputat enim *Vir Eruditus, Ciceronem* ibi de pervulgata ea *Artium partitione, in LIBERALES proprie ita dictas, seu INGENUAS, ut Cicero eas alibi vocat, ac ILLIBERALES seu SORDIDAS tractare proposuisse*: atque *hanc Artium divisionem tam clare & aperte exposuisse ut mirum profecto videatur, eam quemquam effugere potuisse*^d: a *Sordidis* autem *Ciceronem*

nem

^b Resp. p. 53.

^c Ib. p. 54. it. 74.

^d Ib. 57. ut clarius quod disputemus intelligatur, verba ipsa Ciceronis huc etiam apponenda duxi — Jam de Artificiis & quæstibus, qui liberales habendi, qui sordidi sint, hæc fere accepimus: primum improbantur ij quæstus, qui in odia hominum incurrunt, ut Portitorum & Fœneratorum. Illiberales autem & sordidi quæstus mercenariorum omnium, quorum opere non quorum artes emuntur; est enim illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitutis. Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus, quod statim vendant, nihil enim proficiunt, nisi admodum mentiantur: nec vero quicquam est turpius vanitate. Opificesque omnes in sordida arte versantur. Nec vero quidquam ingenuum potest habere officina. Minimeque Artes

probandæ, quæ ministræ sunt voluptatum; cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, ut ait Terentius. Adde his, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores, totumque ludum talarium. HACTENUS DE SORDIDIS: JAM AD LIBERALES VENI-MUS. Quibus autem Artibus aut prudentia major inest, aut non mediocris Utilitas quaeritur, ut Medicina, ut Architectura, ut Doctrina rerum honestarum; hæ sunt eis, quorum ordini conveniunt, honestæ. Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; si magna & copiosa, multa undique apportans, multisque sine vanitate impeticiens, non est admodum vituperanda; atque etiam, si fatiata quæstu, vel contenta potius, ut sæpe ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu se in agros, possessionesque contulerit, videtur optimo jure posse laudari. Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus

nem incipere, easque omnes percurrere dicit, usque ad Saltatores, totumque ludum talarium; deinde quo res tota explicatio fieret, non *Ciceronis* sed sua quædam verba homo acutus interponit; [*hactenus de Sordidis, jam ad liberales venimus*] reliquasque deinceps ibi enumeratas liberalium in numero *Ciceronis auctoritate* habendas affirmat; videlicet *Medicinam; Architecturam; Doctrinam rerum honestarum; Mercaturam; Agriculturam.*

Quis autem, si *Diis placet*, tam ridiculum unquam *Artium Liberalium* catalogum antea vidit? quis præter *Auctorem nostrum* ejusmodi illarum *Corpus quoddam* effingere potuit; de quibus ne unam quidem in *Liberalibus* unquam haberi reperimus? Artes enim istæ modò memoratæ, si in *Liberalibus* habendæ sunt, tunc *Ars illa Agricolarum* omnium longe liberalissima esset, utpote omnium maxime hoc in loco laudata, liberisque hominibus commendata? quod quidem homo noster fatetur, eamque ex omnibus speciatim seu præcipue liberalem esse dicit*. Sed tantum absuit, ut *Agriculturam* Cicero unquam in *Artium Liberalium* numero ponendam existimaret, ut eam ipsam, tanquam ab omni politiori elegantia abhorrentem, ab *Artibus ingenuis ac elegantibus* quam longissime sejungat†.

Instat autem *Responsionis Auctor*, & *Medicinam* cum *Doctrina rerum honestarum* hoc in loco conjungi dicit, nec me tam temerarium fore credit, ut *doctrinam rerum honestarum* *Servis* convenire posse contendam‡: at quicquid ille contra disputet, contendam tamen, vel eam quoque *Servis* competere posse. Quid enim aliud per *doctrinam rerum honestarum* intelligi poterit, ac munus ipsum, professioque res honestas docendi? at harum plerumque

quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est Agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil libero homine dignius. Cic. de Off. l. 1. 42.

* Resp. p. 54.

† Cic. de Fin. 1

‡ Resp. p. 57.

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doctores, *Rhetores* scilicet, *Grammaticos*, *Pædagogos*, ex *Servorum* grege fuisse cognovimus: quamvis enim *res ipsæ*, quas docebant, *honestæ & liberales* censebantur, docendi tamen munus Romæ saltem haud ullo fere in honore fuisse accepimus.

Ut hominis autem nostri inscitia clariùs appareat; loci hujus sententiam tandem veram, sensumque paucis exquiramus. Atque id primum de *Artium Liberalium* notione sciendum est; illas solummodo in earum numero a Veteribus censerî; non quæ *viçtus quærendi*, *lucrive faciendi* causa, sed *animi erudiendi*, *delectandive* gratia excolebantur; atque ex quibus non *quæstus aliquis*, *Utilitasve ad vitam necessaria*, sed *libera quædam animi oblectatio* quærebatur. Quam quidem earum veram propriamque esse definitionem arbitror: & quoties de *quæstuosis* illis aliquas, *minusve ingenuis*, *Liberales* tamen aliquando dici reperiamus, id nonnisi *improprio vocis usu*, & *laxiori quodam sensu* accipiendum, atque, uti hoc in loco, haud aliud indicare intelligendum est, ac ejusmodi *Artes* a *probrosis & turpibus* distingui, atque isti hominum generi, *cui convenient*, honestas esse.

Hoc igitur loco *Ciceronem*, uti primo plane aspectu perspicuum est, de *Artibus* *revera & propriè liberalibus* nec verbum quidem ullum fecisse, nec omnino cogitasse dico: differit solummodo de *Artificiis* seu *quæstibus* istis, unde *lucrum conficiebatur*, atque *aliquid adquiribatur*: *sordidas* primum enumerat, easque omnes, quæ nonnisi cum probro, ac turpitudine quadam conjunctæ videntur; deinde ad *honestiores* progreditur; *Medicinam*, *Architecturam*, &c. quas *Ordini*, *cui convenient*, non probrum aliquod, sed decus potius, laudemque asserre significat; & concludit denique; *omnium autem rerum* ex quibus aliquid adquiritur, *nihil esse Agricultura melius, uberius, dulcius, nec libero komine dignius*. Videmus jam, opinor, quo sensu *Agriculturam*

tanto-

tantopere laudet; non ut *Artem liberalem, aut ingenuam*, sed de *quæstuosis istis* solummodo, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, optimam & homine libero dignissimam.

Artes autem, ut supra dixi, *liberales* a toto illo genere *quæstuosæ* sejunctas semper esse notissimum est, eoque *liberaliores* haberi, quo a *quæstu & lucro omni* remotiores essent: quod quidem, cum ex multis *ipsius Ciceronis* locis demonstrari potest, tum ex eo potissimum, ubi ex *Pythagoræ* sententia, vitam hominum mercatus cujusdam celebritati comparari ait.^h *In quem, uti alii emendi aut vendendi quæstu & lucro ducerentur, alii vero, iique vel maxime ingenui, nullum lucrum quærerent, sed visendi solummodo causa venirent, studiosæque perspicerent, quid ageretur; sic in vita & studiis hominum accidere solere disputat: nam ut illic liberalissimum esset spectare nihil sibi acquirentem; sic in vita, ea longè studia excellere, cæterisque omnibus præstare, quæ nulla quæstus aut pecuniæ spe proposita, in rerum cognitione & contemplatione versabantur. Atque hinc jam quivis facile judicabit, quanti Rhetor noster ingenii fuerit; quàm in Veterum scriptis evolvendis diligens: quam in interpretandis acutus; quamque ad Eruditorum controversias dijudicandas instructus accesserit; quàm denique verum vel nunc etiam illud ipsum sit, quod Ciceronem alicubi indicasse memini; nihil scilicet magni aut solidi unquam ex Rhetorum Officiis, sed Academiæ solummodo spatii extitisse.*

Sed ad *Annotatorem* tandem nostrum revertamur, qui hac sua *velitatione* quasi defatigatus, nec in aciem ipsam ac dimicationem descendere ausus, receptui canere incipit, & *dimittamus jam*, inquit, *Theologum undique doctissimum; reliqua persequantur ii, quibus otium est, quique fuerint diutius in Antiqui-*

*tatitatis cognitione versati.*ⁱ Quorum alterum, Præclare Annottator, Tibi facile concedam, *Antiquitatis* scilicet *cognitione* Te ab aliis certe quibusvis superari; alterum vero nunquam Tibi dabo; *otio* quemvis alium *plus Teipso* abundare: qua enim in re Te tantopere occupatum existimare possumus? num literarum studiis? at *egregium hocce opusculum tuum* nos id omnino putare vetat; Teque in bonis literis, bonisque artibus hospitem esse declarat. Num professionis tuæ muniis, ægrivæ obeundis? at quisquam tam vitæ prodigus invenitur, qui Tibi ea ignorantia simul ac temeritate valetudinem suam committere audeat? Sed singularem hominis modestiam hic etiam obiter notare libet. Quippe is, *occupationibus* licet distentus, nec in *Antiquitatis cognitione* versatus, mea tamen omnia, quæ *præcipua tibi visa* sunt, sibi ipsi refutanda atque evertenda suscepit; reliqua vero, quæ ne *minimi quidem momenti*, nec *refutatione digna* pronuntiat^k, iis tamen persequenda relinquit, qui *otio* abundant, qui rerum antiquarum scientia excellent.

Ut verò cum primis, ultima tandem consentiant; cum nihil aliud *Notæ hæc breves* ac summam hominis malevolentiam, cum pari sanè stultitiâ conjunctam ostenderint; *velim autem*, inquit^l, *existimet Vir Eruditus*, ea quæ à me contra ejus sententiam libere dicta sunt; non esse eo animo dicta, quod aliquam in illum contumeliam jacere cuperem, sed quia veritatem, quæ ab ipso obscurata quidem est, quantum potui patefacere studerem. Tu vero, num vel unam demum nobis veritatem patefecisti? numvè unam aliquam calumniandi occasionem prætermisisti? quippe ea, *Vir probe*, annon contumelia est; *Theologicæ Professorum, Mendacem, Malevolum, Calumniatorem* ubique appellare? annon id, in-

ⁱ Not. br. p. 30.^k Ib. p. 23.^l Not. br. p. 31.

quam, quàm maximè *contumeliosum*; hominem liberalitèr educatum infimulare; quòd *falsitate alios circumvenire studeat*^m; quod de locis ex auctoribus citatis, *nonnulla audacter mutaverit*ⁿ; *alia malitiose confinxerit*^o; *aliis verba aliena adtexerit, quo fucum faceret*^p; quod de veritate nihil sit sollicitus, dummodo convitii aliquid congerat^q; quod *fide nullà dignus sit, propterea quod mala fide egerit*^r. Quippe hujus generis omnia, si vera prorsus essent, parcius tamen objici, nec tam apertè dici solent; cum autem sint falsissima, & tam libere tamen profundantur, non verbis solummodo & disputatione castigari, sed legibus pœnisque potius coerceri merentur.

^m Ib. 19.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Ib. 23.

^p Ib. 18.

^q Ib. 13.

^r Ib. 24.



THE
E P I S T L E S
OF
M. T. CICERO to M. BRUTUS,
AND OF
BRUTUS to CICERO:
WITH THE
Latin Text on the opposite page,
AND
English Notes to each EPISTLE.
Together with a
PREFATORY DISSERTATION,
In which the Authority of the said Epistles is vindicated, and all the Objections of the Rev. Mr. *Tunstall* particularly considered and confuted.



T H E P R E F A C E.

THE authority of the following letters having lately been called in question by the learned *Mr. Tunstall, Fellow of St. John's College, and Orator of the University of Cambridge* [1]; who in a Latin Epistle addressed to myself, has attempted to prove them to be the forgery of some Sophist, and on the merit of that proof, has rejected them as spurious [2]; it seems incumbent particularly on me, to vindicate their credit, and assert their real antiquity: since it might justly be reckoned a fraud in the literary, as it is in the mercantile world, to offer any thing to the public, which we did not either believe, or could not even warrant to be genuine: and an Epistle indeed of that sort addressed to me, must be interpreted by every body, as a defiance or challenge to enter the lists with him in that cause; which it would be shameful in me to decline, not only as an Editor of the Epistles in question, but as I have made great use of them in my *Life of Cicero*, without intimating the least scruple, or indeed without conceiving any about them.

For I am not ashamed to own, that I have always looked upon these letters, not only as originals, but the most valuable of that kind, which are preserved to us from old *Rome*; written in the very crisis and last struggle of it's liberty, by the greatest men who then lived in it, and who soon after died for it. This,

[1] Vid. Tunstalli Epist. ad C. Middleton. 8vo Cantabrigiæ 1741.

[2] De Epistolis—quæ *Ciceronis* nomen falsò præferunt. *ibid.* p

I say, has been my constant persuasion; which, after all the pains, that our learned Critic has taken, I see not the least reason to alter: and since it would be a sensible loss to all the lovers of polite letters, to be deprived of a classical remnant of antiquity, of which they have fancied themselves rightfully possessed; I think it my duty, as far as I am able, to free them from that apprehension, and to ensure to them the possession of a treasure, which they have so long enjoyed and so highly valued.

If it should be asked, why in a controversy of this nature, I have chosen to give an *English* answer to a *Latin Epistle*; there were several reasons, which determined me to prefer this method: first, the perpetual reference and connection, which this piece will necessarily have with my *Life of Cicero*: secondly, as it will be a proper Preface to this English Edition of the letters themselves: and thirdly, as it will make the subject of our dispute more intelligible to every body; especially since our Critic, with his *Latin* performance, though he professes, *to come fresh from the Study of Tully's Epistles* [1], has not had the fortune to make himself understood, and will consequently be very little read, without the help of such a comment.

In order therefore to place the whole argument in the clearest light, I shall lay before the reader, in the first place, a short history of the Epistles here published; as it is delivered to us from the earliest tradition, to the time of our Critic's attack upon them.

It appears from the accounts of the ancients, that a collection of letters, between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, was subsisting many ages after *Cicero's* death. *Nonius Marcellus*, an old Grammarian, cites a passage from *the first*; and another, from the *eighth book*

[1] Nam cum ab Epistolarum earum, recens ad has—devenissem. Tunst. Epist. que haud dubie Ciceronis sunt, lectione p. 193.

of them [2]: *Quintilian* often refers to them [3]: and *Plutarch*, as our Critic observes, has given us extracts from two of the principal of them [4]. This collection then consisted of *eight books*; all of them probably written, between the time of *Cæsar's* and of *Cicero's* death, concerning the memorable events of that busy period; which included about a year and half: for the passage, that *Nonius* cites from *the first* book, is found in *the first* of these Epistles now remaining [5]; which seems to have been written about the end of the year, in which *Cæsar* was killed [6]. The correspondence indeed between these two great men began several years before, when *Cicero* was Proconsul of *Cilicia* [7]; and was carried on occasionally through all *Cæsar's* reign; but as the letters of that interval related chiefly to private affairs, and the mutual recommendation of their friends to each other; so those, which happened to be preserved, were inserted among the *Familiar Epistles*, where some of them are to be found at this day [8].

As the original letters then of this collection are allowed to have subsisted till the time of *Plutarch*; so we cannot suppose them to have been wholly lost in *Rome* and *Italy*, till the final declension of that Empire, and that universal ruin, which oppressed all the liberal arts, by the overbearing power of *the Goths and Vandals*. But after many centuries of *Gothic* barbarism,

[2] Vid. Non. Marcell. de different. Nonio, in differentia inter *amare* & dictionum in different. inter *amare* & *diligere*. And. Patric. in Fragn. Epist. *diligere*. it. And. Patric. in Fragment. ad Brut.

Epist. ad Brut.

[6] A. U. 709.

[3] Vid. Quintil. l. 3. c. 8. l. 8. 3, 6. l. 9. 3, 4.

[7] In *Cicero's* Epistles to *Atticus*, during his government of *Cilicia*, he mentions several letters, which he had received from *Brutus*. Ep. ad Att. l. 6. 1. &c

[4] Vid. Tunstall. Epist. p. 194.

[5] Observandum est, eum Epistolarum librum, qui nunc etiam extat inter impressos, ad *Brutum*, primum nominari a

[8] Ep. Fam. 13. 10.

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whenever any men of genius or superior taste began to enquire after the monuments of the ancients, *Cicero's* works were generally the first, that were sought for in all the places, where there was any school of learning, or library of books. *Petrarch*, who flourished about the year 1340, was the leader in this search, as all the later writers testify of him. *He was the first, says Ludovicus Vives, who unlocked the musty Libraries, and wiped off the dust from the monuments of the Classic writers: on which account the Latin tongue is much indebted to him; though he was not able to attain to a purity of writing, or to clear himself intirely from the barbarism of his age. Paullus Jovius and others give the same account of him; that he was the first, who attempted to retrieve the Latin tongue, and to raise up the ancient letters from their Gothic Sepulchers* [1].

He tells us himself, in one of his letters, what great pains he took, to recover the remains of *Cicero*; not onely in person and in his travels through *France* and *Germany*, but by commissions to his friends and correspondents in all parts of Europe, the result of which was; *that he got together several duplicates of Cicero's common pieces, but was not able, he says, to procure any of the rare ones, except the two books on Glory, (which he lost again soon after by lending to a friend) and some separate Epistles and Orations* [2]. Among the rest, we find him possessed of these very Epistles, which are the subject of our present inquiry: for in one of his letters, fancifully addressed to the Manes of *Cicero*, he cites two passages, from the two celebrated Epistles of *Brutus*; the one to *Cicero*, the other to *Atticus* [3].

[1] Vid. Doctor. testimonia de Petrarcha. in Edit. Oper. Fol. Basil. 1581.

[3] Vid. Petrarch. Epist. ad quosdam e Veterib. Ep. 1. p. 704.

[2] Vid. Petrarch. Epist. l. 15. 1.

Petrarch's example improved the taste of his own, as well as of the succeeding ages; and inspired the learned with the same zeal of hunting out the works of the ancients, and particularly of *Cicero*. Among whom *Poggias of Florence*, in the next century, is said to have brought into *Italy* the copies of several of his pieces, from the Council of *Constance*; and to have been the first discoverer of the intire collection of his *Epistles to Atticus* [4]; which, with those to his Brother *Quintus*, and the few, that were then found of these very letters to *Brutus*, were printed together in one volume, soon after *Poggias's* death, at *Venice*, by *Nicolas Jenson*; and at *Rome* by *Sweynheim and Pannartz*; A. D. 1470. Which letters, as it is signified in an Epigram, at the end of *Jenson's* Edition, were very rare to be met with before the time of that impression [5].

But of the eight books of these letters, which anciently subsisted, no more could be retrieved by the curious of those times, than eighteen scattered Epistles, which were published in that first edition; and of which several impressions were afterwards made in different parts of Europe: till six or seven more, rather fragments, than intire letters of the same collection, happened to be found many years after in *Germany*; which were printed likewise and added to the common editions, though separated and distinguished in most of them, as they continue still to this day, from the eighteen, which were before published.

These eighteen, from their first appearance in the world, either in MS. or print, have generally passed among the learned for the original *Epistles of Cicero and Brutus*. *Erasmus* indeed seems to rank the letters of *Brutus*, in the same class with those

[4] Vid. Hoffman. Lexic. de Poggio.
& And. Patric. in Fragn. de Gloria.

[5] Vid. Mattaire Annal. Typograph.
vol. 1.

of *Phalaris*, as the *declamatory compositions* of some Sophist [2]: yet upon another occasion, he cites the very same letters, without intimating the least suspicion of them [3]; and I do not know, that they have ever been suspected by any body else. As to the rest, which were found afterwards in Germany, though the novelty of the discovery surprized the Critics a while, and made them cautious of declaring any judgement upon them; yet after they had been spread into all hands, and considered at leisure by men of taste, they met with the same approbation, as the first eighteen; and have been cited ever since without any scruple, as the unquestionable remains of the great authors, to whom they are ascribed.

I publish these six Epistles, says *Victorius*, as I received them from the Germans: for though I have never met with them in any old MSS, yet I have no mind to impeach the fidelity of the Germans, who attest, that they found them in an ancient copy, nor to interpose my own judgement on either side [4]. *Lamhinus* says the same thing, but adds, yet if any one is desirous, to know my opinion about them, I take them to be the genuin Epistles of *Brutus* and *Cicero* [5].

Sigonius, in his collection of the fragments of *Cicero*, speaking of these same letters, says, "I have chosen to insert in this place, four letters of *Cicero* to *Brutus*, and one of *Brutus* to *Cicero*, which are said to be found by the Germans, in a

[2] Porro, quas nobis reliquit nescio quis, *Bruti* nomine; nomine *Phalaridis*, nomine *Senecæ*: *Est Phalaris*: quid aliud conferri possiant, quem declamatorum? Epist. ad Beat. Rhenan. Oper. Tom. 3. pag. 11. p. 554. C. Lugd. Bat. 1703.

[3] *Brutus* indignatur *Ciceroni*, qui

suas concionibus & scriptis irritaret eos, quos irritatos non posset opprimere. Ep. ad *Guilielm.* lib. p. 641. A.

[4] See *Victorius's* Edition of *Cicero's* works.

[5] See *Lamhinus's* Edition.

“ MS. copy [1]; because they are rejected by many, as spurious, nor are found in all the printed editions; and in those, where they are found, are jumbled together confusedly, and read with little or no regard—yet both the matter and time of them shew, that they ought to be placed before all the rest of the Epistles to *Brutus*, but so, as to be connected with them [2].” And in another part of his comment, he confirms a passage in one of these letters, by a parallel expression in the other *eighteen*, which, as he declares, were *unquestionably held to be Cicero's* [3].

Andr. Patricius also, who published a more compleat collection of the same fragments, soon after that of *Sigonius*, speaking of the Epistles found in Germany, says; “ there are some indeed, who deny them to be *Cicero's*, but I attribute more in this case, to the letters themselves, which speak sufficiently for themselves, and to the authority also of *Manutius*, who affirms the same thing, than to any man living. Yet those, who do not acknowledge *Cicero's* hand in them, are but few, and cannot surely be very learned. Let these letters then be joined to the rest, as the thing itself requires, and as *Sigonius* has shewn the way [4].”

This was the state of the following Epistles, when our Critic thought fit to make his attack upon them. The eighteen, first printed, had been generally received as genuin by the Critics of all ages: the rest were suspected a while by a few, but after a due examination obtained the same credit with the first. Our

[1] These Epistles found in Germany are differently divided in the common Editions into *five*, *six* or *seven*. For as five of them were found imperfect, so some of the five have been annexed to each other according to the different fancy of different Editors, as supposed to have

belonged originally to the same letter.

[2] Vid. *Sigonii*. Schol. in *Fragm. Cic.* p. 176.

[3] Quod etiam facit in iis, quæ per certo *Tullianæ* habentur, ibid. p. 178.

[4] Vid. *And. Patricium* in *Fragm. Epist. ad Brutum*.

Critic makes no distinction, but roundly condemns them all: and so far I am ready to agree with him; that if he can prove any one of them to be forged, I shall make very little difficulty to give up the rest. But though I have considered his arguments with attention, yet they have had no other effect, but to persuade me more strongly than ever, that the letters are originals: and I can hardly doubt, but that every reader will be of the same mind, when we come to the examination of his particular objections.

But before we descend to this task, it will be necessary to discuss with him a preliminary point or two, which seem to be of no small moment towards determining the main question. For if, upon his authority, we must believe the Epistles to be spurious, it might reasonably be expected, that he should give us some account *at the same time*, in what age, or *by whom*, they might probably be forged; concerning which he has not ventured, to offer the least conjecture. That we may supply therefore what he has omitted, let us consider here a little, at what time this imagined forgery could possibly be executed. He allows them indeed to be *ancient* [4]; yet in another place seems to suspect, that they may perhaps be *modern* [5]; but does not pretend to say, either *how ancient* or *how modern* he takes them to be: and here lies the difficulty; and so great an one, as seems 'sufficient of itself, to shake his whole Hypothesis.

The original letters were extant, as we have seen, to the time of *Plutarch*; and could not therefore be lost, till the purity of the Latin tongue was lost: and as there could be no room

[4] Quod si quis horum antiquitatis monumentorum, veterum fortasse—amore
adductus, &c. Tunstall. *Epist.* p. 251. in notis.

[5] Hæc quidem antithesis quiddam
τῶν νεωτέρων sapere videtur, ibid. p. 233.

for such a forgery, as long as the genuin letters were in being; so it is not credible, that, in the following ages of barbarism; a Sophist should be found, so perfect a master of *Cicero's* stile, and the purest tast of writing, as to impose his forgeries upon the ablest Critics, who have ever lived: or that he should think of putting such a cheat upon the world, at a time, when there was scarce a man, much less a society of men in it, who had any particular respect for *Cicero*, or made any study of his writings: or when those writings lay dispersed and neglected in distant parts of *Europe*, that he should be furnished with them so largely, as to be able to execute a work, which required an intimate knowledge and acquaintance with them all.

Again; as the genuin letters subsisted, till the purity of Latin was lost, so these remains, which are now in our hands, were actually in being long before that purity revived; being cited, as I have shewn, by *Petrarch*, two centuries before the reformation; or before any tast of fine writing began to flourish again in *Europe*: so that, if they were really forged, as our Critic contends, they must have been forged in the intermediate ages of darkness and ignorance, since their known history precludes us from ascribing them to any other age.

For my own part, as far as I am able to judge, either from the stile, or, on what I lay a far greater stress, the matter of them, I take them to be in all points so truly *Ciceronian*, as to be persuaded, that there has scarce been a man in the world, from the time of *Plutarch*, to that of *Petrarch*, who was capable of such a forgery. Nay, from the time even of *Augustus*, we see so remarkable an alteration, and gradual declension of language, in the very best writers of the succeeding ages, as could hardly have failed of being distinguish'd, in a series of many letters, from the flowing periods of *Cicero*. The

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lower we descend, the case is still worse; and in proportion, as we remove from the age of *Cicero*, towards that of *Petrarch*, the difficulty encreases to a degree almost of impossibility. About the time indeed of the Reformation, the men of taste and polite letters began to vie with each other in the delicacy of their stile, and above all, in the imitation of *Cicero*; in which they were so nice and fastidious, as to allow nothing to be classical, that was not drawn from his works [1]. Some of these, by making *Cicero* their sole pattern, were able perhaps to copy his manner, with more exactness, than any who have lived since *Plutarch's* time; but it happens, that the suspected letters were not only extant, but printed, long before any writers of this class were in being.

But if we had found a Sophist, capable of such a work, and settled the time, in which he lived, yet another question will occur, of no less difficulty, concerning the end, that he proposed to himself in undertaking it. It could not certainly be fame; since he chose to lie concealed, and continues concealed to this day: nor could it be money; since in the barbarous ages, no body would buy his work; nor in any age, would the gain ever pay for the labor of it. Our Critic indeed has pointed out two ends, which he might possibly have in view; first, to draw up *an epilogue or supplement to the Epistles to Atticus, so as to carry on the history, where those to Atticus drop it* [2]. But when there had been *eight books* of these letters originally subsisting,

[1] Quasi parum sit in orbe factionum, probrosius esse ducunt, quam appellari revixit nova sectio *Ciceronianorum*—Ut, hzeticum, ad Jo. Vergar. ib. p. 1015. E
fateor *Ciceroni* primam in dicendo laudem E
deberi, ita puto ridiculam, tota vita nihil aliud agere, quam ut *Ciceronem unum* exprimas. Ep. ad Jac. Tullianum. ib. p. 938. D.

Ac non *Ciceronianum* appellari, multo

[2] Hæcque remaneant solæ, quæ earum, quæ ad *Atticum* sunt, historiam producant, & *Epilogi* cujusdam vicem, quasi id de industria comparatum fuisset, sustineant.

Tunfall. Epist. p. 194.

whose loss suggested the thought of forging others in their stead, it is reasonable to imagine, that he would have carried on the history, as far as those books had done; or given us at least a regular series of letters, and not, what we now find, a few unconnected Epistles, with some pieces or fragments of others, which appear to be the ruins of a greater work; and instead of continuing the history to the end of the correspondence between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, afford but a partial and broken detail of it, through four months only of the twelve, which he had undertaken to supply.

The second end, which he has provided for his Sophist, is, to vindicate *Cicero's* character from the imputation of rashness, in throwing too much power into the hands of *Octavius* [1]: and this indeed was the onely answer, that he gave me, when I asked him once in a conversation, *what end the Sophist could serve by such a forgery*: and though I thought it ridiculous, and freely told him so, yet he has taken occasion to intimate it in different parts of his work. But against whom then could this Sophist mean to defend *Cicero*? why truly against himself. For nobody ever accused him, but the author of these letters; or nobody, I may venture to say, who had not first read and believed them to be genuin. This *Petrarch*, though he had a veneration for *Cicero's* character, yet upon the authority of these letters, does not scruple to censure his conduct, as inconsistent with his principles. *What answer*, says he, *will you give to your Brutus, when he tells you, that the court, which you pay to Octavius, shews, that you are not displeased with a master, but want onely to have a more friendly one?* And again, *I myself, with*

[1] Id notare proclive est, defensorem daque dignitate, famam, quod dicit, nostrum *Ciceronis* plus nimio laborasse, ne is, iret temeritatis. lb. 212.
in suscipiendo *Cæsaris* patrocinio, promovea-

that same Brutus, can no longer set any value on those arts, with which I know you to be so greatly furnished [1]. Our Critic therefore, if he will be consistent, must introduce two Sophists, instead of one, in his next edition; the one to arraign, and the other to defend Cicero.

But it is time to procede to the examination of his objections, which he summs up in general to the following effect;

“ That as he came fresh from the reading of Cicero’s genuin
 “ letters, so he perceived, that these to Brutus wanted the beauty
 “ and copiousness of the Ciceronian diction; that both Brutus’s and
 “ Cicero’s were drawn in the same stile and manner of coloring;
 “ and trimmed up with so much art and diligence, that they seemed
 “ to procede rather from scholastic subtlety and meditation, than
 “ from the genuin acts and affairs of real life: that when there
 “ had been several other letters from Brutus to Cicero, and to
 “ Atticus, both before and after the time, in which these are supposed
 “ to be written, it was strange, that all those should be lost, and
 “ these onely remain, which appear to have been industriously de-
 “ signed for an Epilogue to the Epistles to Atticus. That these
 “ reasons induced him to suspect; but upon looking farther into the
 “ letters themselves, he discovered many absurdities in the sense, im-
 “ proprieties in the language; many remarkable predictions of
 “ future events, both on Brutus’s side and on Cicero’s; but what
 “ was most material, a great number of historical facts, not onely
 “ quite new, but wholly altered, and some even apparently false,
 “ and contradictory to the genuin works of Cicero [1].”

He goes on to support this general charge by particular

[1] Vid. Petrarch. Epist. ad viros quosdam e veteribus. Ep. 1, p. 704.

[1] Tunk. Epist. p. 193.

proofs, and begins with such as relate to history; which he opens with two notable passages, as he calls them, from *Plutarch*; wherein he gives the following summary account of the two famous Epistles of *Brutus*; the one to *Cicero*, the other to *Atticus*, which our Critic supposes *Plutarch* to have seen in the original collection, that subsisted in his time [1]. “When
 “ *Cicero*, says *Plutarch*, out of hatred to *Antony* had espoused the
 “ interests of *Octavius*, *Brutus* reprov’d him for it severely, telling
 “ him by letter, that he had no aversion to a master; but was
 “ afraid onely of an angry one; that all his measures tended to
 “ procure an easy servitude, since he was constantly declaring in
 “ his letters and speeches, that *Octavius* was a good natured man;
 “ whereas our ancestors, says he, would not endure even a gentle
 “ master. That for his part, he had not thought proper as yet,
 “ either to enter forwardly into war, nor wholly to sit idle, but
 “ had taken onely this single resolution, not to live a slave. That
 “ he was surprized, that *Cicero* should have so much dread of a
 “ civil and dangerous war, yet have none at the same time of
 “ a base and inglorious peace; but should demand as the reward of
 “ dispossessing *Antony* of his tyranny, to make *Octavius* the Tyrant
 “ in his stead. To this effect, says *Plutarch*, *Brutus* expressed
 “ himself in his first letter [2].”

Again; with regard to *Brutus*’s other letters to *Atticus*, *Plutarch* says; “ that *Cicero*’s hatred to *Antony* in the first place, and
 “ in the next, his own natural temper, unable to hold out against
 “ those, who paid a court to him, made him *Octavius*’s friend;
 “ imagining, that he should attack his power by that means
 “ to the service of the state. For the young man carried
 “ himself so obsequiously towards him, as to call him even
 “ Father. Upon which *Brutus*, being greatly incensed, inveighs

[1] Tanst. Epist. p. 194.

[2] Vid. *Plutar.* in *Vit. Brut.* p. 994.

“ against

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*" against Cicero, in a letter to Atticus; that by the observance
 " which he paid to Octavius, through fear of Antony, he plainly
 " shewed, that his aim was, not to procure the liberty of his country,
 " but a kind master only to him self (1)."*

Now these two passages agree very well in the main with the general argument of the two letters, which are still extant. But our Critic observes, that there are some manifest contradictions between them; the principal of which is, that the genuin letters, which *Plutarch* had seen, were written by *Brutus*, while he continued in *Italy*; whereas these, which are now in our hands, are pretended to be written much later, when *Brutus* was in *Macedonia* [2]. He mentions two other contradictions of less moment, which I shall not repeat, as being nothing to his purpose; since those, who follow fact and plain sense, would make no other reflection upon them, but that *Plutarch* was negligent and inaccurate, as he is known to be in all his *Lives*, and the whole difficulty would be solved.

But this solution cannot please our Critic. It cuts short all refinement, and leaves no room for an Hypothesis; which he resolves to build upon these very facts; for he tells us in the next paragraph, *" that some Sophist, happening to read those
 " true sentiments of Brutus, in Plutarch, or some other Historian,
 " took the hint to forge a collection of letters upon that plan, and
 " executed it accordingly; but without the least regard to the time, in
 " which the original letters were written; or without considering,
 " how much earlier Plutarch had placed the facts there mentioned,
 " than he thought fit afterwards to place them; or how long before
 " his account of the matter, Octavius had been suspected, and
 " Brutus had found reason to chide Cicero for his inconsiderate*

[1] *Plut. in Vit. Cicer. p. 883.*

[2] *Tunst. Ep. p. 196.*

“ *rashness in making him so great [1].*” But he must be a stupid Sophist indeed, who after forming the plan of a work, by which he hoped to deceive the world, could be so careless in the execution of it, as to contradict his author in the very articles, which he was borrowing from him.

Since *Plutarch's authority* then is made the foundation of our Critic's Hypothesis, in opposition to what I have elsewhere observed with relation to it; it will be necessary to resume the consideration of that question, and to state the real merit of it, as briefly as I can; especially as it will afford us a specimen of our Critic's judgement, and manner of reasoning through his whole performance.

I had observed in the Preface to my Life of Cicero, “ that
 “ the *Greek Historians* were to be read with some caution, in
 “ their accounts of Roman affairs; as being strangers to the
 “ language and customs of *Rome*; and on that account liable
 “ to many mistakes, and subject to many prejudices: that
 “ *Plutarch* in particular was not sufficiently qualified for a
 “ compiler of a *Roman History*, for the want of a competent
 “ skill in the Latin tongue; but if he had possessed all the
 “ talents requisite to that character, yet the attempt of writing
 “ *the lives of all the illustrious Greeks and Romans*, was above the
 “ strength of any single man, of what abilities and leisure
 “ soever; much more of one, who, as he himself tells us, *was*
 “ *perpetually engaged in public business, and in giving lectures of*
 “ *Philosophy to the great men of Rome*: that his Lives there-
 “ fore must needs be imperfect and superficial; and the sketch
 “ rather than the completion of a great design: for the truth
 “ of which I appealed to his *Life of Cicero*; in which, besides

[1] Tunst. Ep. p. 197.

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" the numerous mistakes that have been charged upon it by the
 " learned, we see all the imaginable marks of negligence, inac-
 " curacy, and want of due information of it [1]."

After the publication of that work, I was informed, that an ingenious member of the French Academy, *M. Secousse*, had given the same judgement on *Plutarch* before me, and for the same reasons; which he had exemplified by many instances from the lives of *Camillus*, *Lucullus* and *Pempey*; where, among other mistakes, he had taken notice of one or two, which seemed to be derived from the equivocal sense of the *Latin word*, and *Plutarch's* imperfect knowledge of it [2].

But the most decisive testimony in the case, is that of *Plutarch* himself, who confesses the very fact, that I affirm, in *the Life of Alexander*, which he begins with these words.

" As I am drawing up in this volume *the lives of Alexander*
 " *and of Caesar*, so I shall premise nothing more, on account
 " of the number of their great actions, but onely entreat the
 " reader, not to cavil or find fault with me, if I do not describe
 " all their celebrated acts, nor even the particular ones, with
 " any exactness; but cut short the greatest part of them;
 " since I do not pretend to write *histories* but *lives*. Nor does
 " the illustration of men's virtues or vices depend always
 " on their most conspicuous acts; but a little fact, or
 " saying, or jest has often given a clearer discovery of their
 " real temper and manners, than their most bloody battels,
 " most famous engagements and sieges. As Painters therefore
 " draw the likenesses of persons from the features of the face
 " and countenance, by which their manners are chiefly dis-
 " cerned, and pay very little regard to the other parts of the

[1] See Pref. to the Life of Cic. p. 24.

[2] Hist. de L'Academ. Royal, des Inscript Tom. 5. p. 169. &c.

" body ;

“ body; so it must be allowed likewise to me, to attend principally to the indications of the mind, and from these to form the picture of each man's life, leaving their great actions and achievements to be described by others.”

This was the maxim, that *Plutarch* constantly pursued, and which makes him so full every where of the *apophthegms* and *jest*s of his Heroes [1]; overlooking at the same time their most celebrated actions; or treating them at least in a slight and summary way; and, as he himself professes, without any kind of accuracy: of which there are infinite examples in all those lives. I shall trouble the reader with one or two, which relate to our present subject, and are drawn from the same page, whence our Critic has borrowed one of his *notable* testimonies, which have given him this occasion to insist upon the accuracy, and authority of *Plutarch*, who in his *Life of Cicero*, after an account of *Cicero's* return to *Rome*, from his intended voyage to *Greece*, and of the open quarrel, which then first broke out between him and *Antony*, goes on to say.

“ From this time, whenever they met, they passed by each other, without any mark of respect, and kept themselves upon their guard: till young *Octavius*, arriving from *Apollonia*, took possession of the inheritance of his uncle *Cæsar*, and entered into a controversy with *Antony*, about 2500 myriads, which he detained of that estate. Upon which *Philippus*, who had married his mother, and *Marcellus*, who married his sister, bringing the young man with them to *Cicero*, made an agreement with him; that *Cicero* should assist

[1] In the *Life of Cato the Elder*, “ I “ manners of men are discovered much “ will relate, says he, a few of his say- “ more easily by their words, than by “ ings, that are still remembered, as be- “ their countenances, &c.” p. 340.
“ ing one of those, who contend, that the

“ *Octavius* with all the power of his eloquence and civil
 “ authority, both in the Senate and with the people ; and that
 “ *Octavius* should afford *Cicero* the support of his money and
 “ troops : for the youth had already gathered about him a great
 “ number of veterans, who had served under *Cæsar* ; and
 “ *Cicero* seemed very willing to embrace his friendship [1].”

Now in this summary account of the most considerable and critical passages in *Cicero*'s life, we see all the proofs of negligence and inaccuracy, that a writer could possibly give, within so small a compass. For in opening the grounds of *Cicero*'s breach with *Antony*, he says not a syllable of *Cicero*'s first *Philippic*, which was spoken at that very time, and was the foundation of that breach. Then he makes *Octavius*'s arrival from *Apollonia* to happen after *Cicero*'s rupture with *Antony*, which was in the beginning of *September* ; whereas we know from the letters to *Atticus* that *Octavius* arrived at *Naples*, on the 18th of *April* ; went the next morning to the Villa of his Father *Philippus* ; whence he was introduced presently to *Cicero* in his *Cuman Villa*, adjoining to that of *Philippus* ; where *Balbus*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa* were with *Cicero* [2] : and though from this first interview, *Octavius* paid all imaginable court to *Cicero*, and solicited him afterwards by letters and messages, to take his affairs under his protection ; yet *Cicero* constantly declined it, and would not enter into any agreement with him, till the *November* following ; when it was brought about at last by the mediation of *Oppius* [3]. Yet all this, which was the work of seven months, *Plutarch* represents, as concluded at their first meeting, and at *Rome*, and by the interposition of *Philippus* and *Marcellus*.

[1] *Plut.* in *Cicero.* p. 883.

[3] *Ep.* ad *Att.* l. 16. 15.

[2] *Ep.* ad *Att.* 14, 10, 11.

The same page affords still a more glaring proof, of *Plutarch's* negligent manner of huddling over the great events of history. For, after the passage cited above, relating to *Brutus's* reproof of *Cicero*, in his letter to *Atticus*, he says; "yet for all
 " this, *Brutus* finding *Cicero's* son at *Athens*, gave him a com-
 " mand in his troops, and by his services gained many ad-
 " vantages against the enemy: and *Cicero's* power at that
 " time was at it's greatest height in the City; where he did
 " whatever he pleased; raised up a party against *Antony* and
 " drove him out of *Rome*; sent away the two Consuls, *Hir-*
 " *tius* and *Pansa*, to make war upon him; persuaded the Se-
 " nate to decree to *Octavius*, the rank and ensigns of a Prætor,
 " as having taken up arms in the defence of his country: but
 " when *Antony* was beaten, and the two Consuls killed in the
 " battle, then all their forces went over to *Octavius*, &c." [1]

Here again we see the transactions of many months, the most important, not onely in *Cicero's* life, but in the whole *Roman history*, in which *Cicero* made the most shining figure, and spoke all his *Philippic* orations, huddled over within the compass of a few lines; without any regard to time, or order, just as *Plutarch* happened to think of them; and in the manner, that we might expect from his own account of the design and method, which he pursued in that work.

These testimonies, I am persuaded, will justify the judgment, that I have given of *Plutarch* as a *Roman Historian*; which instead of flowing from any contempt of him, with which our Critic unjustly charges me [2], is nothing more in effect, than what he himself has declared; and what every one, who

[1] *Plut. in Cicer.* 883.

[2] *Miror, te Plutarcho, quem tamen contemnis.* *Tunst. Epist.* p. 37.

reads him without the prepossession of an Hypothesis, will necessarily observe from innumerable facts and instances.

I cannot however quit this fruitful page, without adding one remark more, not upon *Plutarch's* negligence, but our *Critic's*; to say no worse of it; who affirms, that *the two Epistles of Brutus, to which Plutarch refers, were written before Brutus left Italy; for this, says he, is not only manifest from the context, but Plutarch himself expressly declares it* [1]. Yet in the account already given of one of those Epistles, *Plutarch*, as we have seen, says not a syllable about the time of it; and the context is so far from shewing it to be written, *while Brutus was in Italy*, that, from the facts and circumstances annexed, it clearly shews the contrary; that it was written, when *Brutus was employing Cicero's son in the command of his troops in Macedonia; while Cicero himself was in the height of his power at Rome; after he had driven away Antony; sent the two Consuls after him; and decreed the Prætorian ensigns to Octavius*: all which did not happen, till many months after *Brutus had quitted Italy*. Nor is our *Critic's* assertion true, with regard to the other letter; for though the context seems to imply, that it was written *by Brutus in Italy*; yet *Plutarch* says nothing directly about the time of it. Should we allow then all the weight, that can be given to these two notable testimonies; should we grant them to be both accurate and decisive; yet they amount to no more than this; that, as far as we may guess from the context, one of the letters was written in *Italy*; the other in *Macedonia*; yet in neither case, though our *Critic* affirms it of both, does *Plu-*

[1] Nimirum Epistolæ, de quibus *Plutarchus* loquitur, scriptæ sunt, dum *Brutus* adhuc in Italia consistebat. Id ex histo-

riæ contextu manifestum est; sed & idem diserte dicit. *ibid.* p. 196.

tarch say expressly, either when, or where they were written. He calls the Epistle indeed to *Cicero*, *Brutus's first Epistle*; though it was certainly later than the other to *Atticus*; but that they were *both written from Macedonia*, is demonstrably evident, as I shall shew by and by; though *Plutarch*, according to his usual negligence, and as far as his authority reaches, has made both the place, and the time of them uncertain.

But though *Plutarch's* authority be of little force in this question, I have another authority to combat, on which our Critic perhaps may lay a greater stress; that is, his own: for he declares it to be *his absolute opinion, that the two original letters, which Plutarch had seen, were written before Brutus left Italy* [1]: because, there were *substantial reasons before that time, for suspecting Octavius; and for censuring Cicero's inconsiderate rashness, in making him so great* [2].

It is surprizing, that a man, who has made any study of *the Epistles to Atticus*, can declare such an opinion, which is directly confuted by a series of those very Epistles. But the foundation of his Hypothesis must be destroyed, if this point cannot be made good, that *the original letters between Cicero and Brutus* were written at a *different time*, from *the letters now extant*; and all regard to facts, and to *Cicero's* character must be sacrificed to the support of this favorite Hypothesis. But a few extracts from the letters themselves will clear up the matter, and let the reader see with what judgement, as well as modesty, he so freely and frequently charges *Cicero*, with an *inconsiderate*

[1] Atque hoc quidem tempore ipso, *Brutum*, insignes illas Epistolas, & ad *Atticum* & ad *Ciceronem*, de quibus *Plutarchus* narrat, scripisse, omnino existimo.

Tunst. Ep. p. 200.

[2] Inconsultam in *Octavio* augendo *Ciceronis* temeritatem, justissimasque adeo *Bruti* objurgationes. *ibid.* 197.

rashness, and marvellous eagerness, in espousing the interests of Octavius, from the first moment of his landing at Naples [1].

In the first letter, in which *Cicero* mentions *Octavius*, he says ;
 “ *Octavius* arrived at *Naples* on the 18th of April ; whither
 “ *Balbus* went to him early the next morning, and came back
 “ the same day to me, in my *Cuman villa* ; and brings word,
 “ that he will assert his right of succession to his uncle. But
 “ this, as you write, will make a rare dispute between him
 “ and *Antony* [2].”

In the second ; “ *Balbus, Hirtius and Panfa* are here with
 “ me : *Octavius* is just arrived, and into the neighbouring
 “ villa of his Father *Philippus* ; intirely at my devotion [3].”

In the third, dated April the 22d ; “ *Octavius*, who is still
 “ with us, treats me with the greatest respect and friendship ;
 “ his domestics give him the name of *Cæsar* ; *Philippus* does
 “ not ; nor for that reason do I. I think it impossible for
 “ him, to make a good Citizen ; there are so many about
 “ him, who threaten the death of our friends, and de-
 “ clare, that what they have done, cannot be forgiven. What
 “ will be the case, think you, when the boy comes to *Rome*,
 “ where our deliverers cannot appear with safety ? Who yet
 “ must ever be famous, nay happy too, in the consciousness
 “ of their act ; but as for us, if I be not deceived, we shall
 “ be undone. I long therefore to go abroad, where I may
 “ hear no more of these *Pelopidæ*, &c. [4].”

This is all that passed between *Cicero* and *Octavius*, while he continued in the country, at his Father *Philippus*'s villa. But he soon went to *Rome*, to pursue his claim to *Cæsar*'s estate, as

[1] Et sane ex quo *Octavius Neapolim* primus venit, *Cicero* juvenis amplectendi mira cupiditate ferebatur, & ut *Plutarchus* dicit, τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι ἑπάρτε. ib. 190.

[2] Ep. ad Att. 14. 10.

[3] Ibid. 11.

[4] Ep. ad Att. 14. 12.

his heir and adopted son; and to entertain the people with shews and plays, which *Cæsar* himself had promised, and prepared to give in his life time, upon the completion of all his victories. At *Rome*, *Octavius* made a speech to the people from the *Rostra*; where he seems to have been produced by *Antony's* Brother, *Lucius*, one of the Tribuns [1]. This speech was sent to *Cicero*, who says, *that he had the same opinion of it with Atticus*; which was no advantageous one: since, in the same letter, he declares himself displeased with *Octavius's shews*, and with his friends *Matius*, and *Postumius*, for undertaking the care of them [2]: and in another letter, applauds the Tribuns, for ordering *Cæsar's golden chair* to be removed out of the Theater, where *Octavius* seems to have placed it; and the Knights also, for expressing their approbation of that act, by some general clap [3]. This happened about the middle of May; and towards the end of it, while *Antony* and *Octavius* were quarrelling at *Rome*, about the possession of *Cæsar's* estate, *Cicero* writing again to *Atticus*, says;

“ *Octavius*, as I clearly saw, has parts and courage
 “ enough; and seems likely to be affected, as we could wish,
 “ towards our Heroes: but how far we may trust his age,
 “ name, succession, education, is a matter of great delibera-
 “ tion. His Father-in-law, whom I saw at *Astura*, thinks,
 “ not at all. He must be cherished however, if for nothing
 “ else, yet to keep him at a distance from *Antony*. *Marcellus*
 “ acts nobly, if he instills into him a good disposition towards
 “ our friends. He seemed to be much influenced by him;

[1] Ibid. 14. 20.

curatores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

[2] De *Octavio* concione idem sentio, quod tu, & *Matius* & *Postumius* mihi pro-[3] De *Sella Cæsaris* bene Tribuni, præclaros etiam xiv. ordines. ibid. 3.

“ but to have no confidence in *Pansa* and *Hirtius*: his natural temper is good, if it does but hold [1].”

Now this is the whole, that *Cicero* either transacted, or declared, or thought of *Octavius*, before *Brutus* left *Italy*, as it manifestly appears from the letters to *Atticus*: which is so far from shewing that *inconsiderate rashness*, and *marvellous eagerness*, with which our Critic charges him, that it shews just the contrary; the utmost caution and reserve; and such a distrust of *Octavius*, as neither the greatest civilities on *Octavius's* part, nor the good opinion which *Cicero* had conceived of his capacity could over-rule.

Nor had *Cicero* indeed as yet broken all measures with *Antony*; for though he strongly disliked and suspected his proceedings, yet for several prudential reasons, he chose to keep up a shew of friendship and fair correspondence with him; and had undertaken at this very time, to solicit him in person on the behalf of *Atticus*, in an affair, which *Atticus* had much at heart [2]. *Antony* likewise observed the same forms of civility on his part; and wrote in very complaisant terms to *Cicero*, to desire his consent to the restoration of *S. Clodius* from exile [3]: and upon some alarm, given afterwards to the friends of liberty, on the account of a division of lands in *Italy* to *Antony's* Soldiers, *Antony's* Brother, *Lucius*, wrote particularly to *Cicero*, to free him from any apprehensions on that head [4].

Cicero however was so little pleased, either with *Antony* or *Octavius*, or with any thing indeed, that was now going forward in *Italy*, that instead of any eagerness to embrace *Octa-*

[1] Ep. ad Attic. 15. 12.

ib. 15. 1, 2.

[2] De Buthortio negotio, utinam quidem *Antonium* conveniam: multum quidem proficiam. Ad Atticum, 14. 17.

[3] Ep. ad Att. 14. 13.

[4] L. quidem *Antonius* liberaliter litteris sine cura me esset jubet, ib. 15. 12.

avius at this time, he took a resolution of making a voyage to Greece, and of residing with his Son at *Athens*, till *Hirtius* and *Pansa* should enter upon the Consulship on the first day of the next year; on whose administration he had now placed all his hopes. In the beginning therefore of *July*, he set forward upon this voyage, and pursued it as far as *Sicily*; but being driven back by contrary winds to *Rhegium*, and meeting there with some fresh intelligence from *Rome*, of an unexpected turn of affairs, and a change of disposition in *Antony* to measures of peace, and submission to the Senate, he dropt all farther thoughts of the voyage, and turned back towards *Rome*, to assist with his authority in bringing about so desirable an end. But upon his arrival there, finding his hopes frustrated, and that *Antony* was aiming at nothing less than a Tyranny, and the Subversion of the Republic, he spoke his first *Philippic*, on the 2d of *September*, which gave the beginning to that inexpressible quarrel, which soon after ensued between him and *Antony* [1].

Brutus in the mean while left *Italy*; and could have no reason therefore before his departure, to blame *Cicero*, on the account of *Octavius*; since at that time, *Cicero* had not taken any step in favour of him, nor, in all probability, had so much as seen him, from the time of their first interview: and as *Brutus* had no reason to complain of *Cicero*, during his stay in *Italy*, so it is evident from the same letters to *Atticus*, that in fact, he did not complain of him, either on the account of *Octavius*, or any other account whatsoever. For during this interval, from the arrival of *Octavius*, to the departure of *Brutus*, there was a continual exchange of letters and messages between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, of which frequent mention is made in the Epistles to

[1] See the Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 309—315, &c.

Atticus [1]. In one of which Epistles, *I am glad*, says *Cicero*, that my letters to *Brutus* and *Cassius* were agreeable to them [2] : and in another ; *Oh ! how affectionate was Brutus's letter to me* [3] ? Whence we may collect, that *Brutus*, who used generally to be rough and haughty in his letters, was now particularly complaisant, from a just sense of *Cicero's* zeal and services to him. Nay, he appears to have been so cautious at this time of offending *Cicero* in any degree, that though he strongly disliked his *voyage to Greece*, yet he resolved to be silent on that subject, and would not drop a syllable, either to discourage or dissuade it, from an unwillingness to press him, to any thing disagreeable [4].

But besides a constant intercourse of letters, they had many personal conferences within the same interval, and chiefly at *Brutus's* desire ; which all passed with the greatest affection and harmony. *Cicero* saw him at *Lanuvium* [5] ; again at *Antium* [6] ; afterwards in *Nesio*, a little Isle on the Campanian coast, where he conversed with him many days successively [7] ; and lastly at *Velia*, as he came back from his *Grecian* voyage : where *Brutus* no sooner heard of his arrival, than he came three miles on foot to embrace him ; expressed the utmost joy at his return ; and told him in the kindest manner, what he did not care to mention to him before, that by dropping the pursuit of the voyage he had escaped two imputations on his character ; the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion of the common cause ;

[1] Epist. ad Att. l. 14. 18, 19, 20. l. 15. 1, 4, 5, 10, 23, 26, 29, &c.

[2] Gratas fuisse meas litteras *Bruto* & *Cassio* gaudeo, itaque iis rescripsi. Ad Att. 14. 20.

[3] O *Bruti* amanter scriptas litteras !
ibid. 15. 10.

[4] *Brutus*—effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat ; ut recorderer illud tuum ; nam *Brutus noster* filius. ib. 10. 7.

[5] Ad Att. 15. 20.

[6] Ib. 15. 11.

[7] Ib. 16. 1, 2, 4, 5.

the other, *of the vanity of going to see the Olympic games* [1]: but in none of these conferences, was there the least hint of any expostulation, or ill humour, with regard to *Octavius*.

The interview at *Velia* was the last which *Cicero* ever had with *Brutus*, on the 17th of August [2]: when he left him prepared, and ready to sail with his fleet towards *Greece*; as he undoubtedly did within a few days after. For he had already staid longer, than his friends thought adviseable; waiting still to see, *whether chance might not produce something in his favor at Rome*; especially upon the occasion of the shows, which he had lately exhibited there, with the universal applause of the people [3].

Now this is the whole state of *Cicero's* conduct towards *Octavius*, during the time of *Brutus's* stay in *Italy*. As to what passed afterwards, since it does not relate to our present argument, I shall refer the reader to *my Life of Cicero*; where he will find, that notwithstanding the most pressing instances of *Octavius*, by daily letters and messages, to engage *Cicero* to assist him against their common enemy, *Antony*; yet *Cicero* still held off, and expressed the same diffidence as before, till the exigencies of the Republic, and the immediate ruin threatened to it by *Antony*, made their union necessary: To which *Cicero* would not consent even at the last, but upon the express condition, that *Octavius* should engage himself to be a friend to *Brutus* and his accomplices; and as a proof of his sincerity, should suf-

[1] *Ib.* 16. 7.

[2] Nam xvi Kal. Sept. cum venissent *Veliam*. *ibid.*

[3] Illud mihi submolestum, quod parum *Brutus* prosperare videtur. Primum confectum ludorum nuncios expectat. *ibid.*

Existimabam *μὴ ἐξέρχου* esse; & hercule erat; & maxime de ludis. At mihi, cum ad villam rediissem, *Cn. Lucceius*, qui multum utitur *Bruto*, narravit, illum valde morari, non tergiversantem, sed expectantem, s. qui forte casu. *ibid.* 16. 5.

fer *Cassia*, who gave the first blow to *Cæsar*, to enter quietly into the *Tribunate*, to which he had been nominated by *Cæsar* [1]; which *Octavius* readily agreed to, and permitted accordingly, on the 10th of *December*: and in consequence of that agreement, *Cicero*, on the 19th of the same month, first recommended him to the Senate, and to the people, in a distinct speech to each [2]; and on the first of *January*, procured a decree, to invest him with the legal command of his troops; together with the rank and ensigns of a *Prætor* [3]. These were the first public measures, that *Cicero* entered into with relation to *Octavius*; and the foundation of what *Brutus* took occasion to reproach him with many months after. For, as I have shewn in the *Life of Cicero*, he never began to complain of him, till after *Antony's* defeat at *Modena*, and the death of the two *Consuls*; which was an accident, that *Cicero* could neither foresee nor provide for; and was the sole reason of throwing all that power into *Octavius's* hands, by which he was enabled to destroy the Republic [4]. And this fact is not only declared in these suspected letters, but is intimated likewise in the letters, which *Plutarch* had seen, and in one of the very passages, which our Critic has produced; as he might easily have observed, if he had come to it without prejudice: for *Brutus*, in his reproof of *Cicero*, plainly supposes, that *Cicero* had already got the better

[1] Sed, ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen, *Cæsaræ* nostri *Tribunatum*. De quo quidem ipso dixi *Oppio*, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescerem, totamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum Tyrannocætonis, verum etiam amicum fore. Cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea

opera ante *Kalendas Januarias* nihil opus est. Nos autem ejus voluntatem ante *Ius Decemb* perspicimus in *Cæsare*. Mihi valde assensus est. Ad Att. 16. 15.

[2] These were his 3d and 4th *Philippic* Orations.

[3] See his 5th *Philippic*.

[4] See the *Life of Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 432.

of *Antony*, and *dispossessed him of his Tyranny*, yet, by his management, *was raising up Octavius into his place, and making him the Tyrant in Antony's stead* [1].

But if this hint be not sufficient to satisfy our Critic, I can give him another, from the same *Plutarch*, and the same Life of *Brutus*, which is a clear comment upon it, and marks out the precise time, when *Brutus* first conceived his apprehensions of *Octavius's power*, and began consequently *to expostulate with Cicero*, by whose help he had been advanced to it. For *Plutarch*, after a brief detail of *Brutus's* success and exploits in *Macedonia*, tells us, “ that when he was preparing to go from
“ thence into *Asia*, he received the news of the change of their
“ affairs at *Rome* : where young *Octavius*, who had hitherto
“ been cherished and supported by the Senate in opposition to
“ *Antony*, having now driven *Antony out of Italy*, was become
“ formidable himself. For he laid claim to the Consulship, in
“ defiance of the laws ; and kept about him great armies,
“ which the City did not want [2].” Thus I have shewn, in contradiction to our Critic's declared persuasion, and by that very authority, on which he lays so great a stress, that *Brutus's real letters*, as it is expressly delivered in *these suspected ones*, were written from *Macedonia*, some time after the battle of *Modena* ; and many months after *Brutus* himself had left *Italy*.

I cannot dismiss this argument, without taking notice of a censure, that our Critic here throws out, upon the use of a testimony, which I had produced, to shew *Cicero's* strong suspicions of *Octavius*, even *after Brutus's departure out of Italy*. It is taken from a letter to *Atticus*, where *Cicero* says ; as to what

[1] Τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰεὶ, τὸν Κάϊσαρα κατα-
[2] Plut. in Brut. p. 996.

you wrote, *I warmly assent to you, that if ever Octavius acquires any great power, the Tyrant's acts will be more strongly enforced, than they were in the Temple of Tellus; and that will be all against Brutus, &c.* [1]. Now can any opinion be more explicitly declared, than this is declared here to be *Cicero's*? But *Atticus*, it seems, had signified it before to be his; and if twenty people had signified the same, it would be *Cicero's* no less, for all that; whose opinion was the only one, that had any relation to my subject. Yet our Critic plainly charges me, with a misapplication of this testimony, in ascribing a sentiment to *Cicero*, which really belonged to *Atticus* [2]: and it is by such quibbles as these, that he attempts most commonly through his whole Epistle, to combat clear facts and direct proofs.

He proceeds next, to the examination of the Epistles themselves, and begins with *Brutus's* Epistle to *Atticus*, which he allows to be *really a fine one* [3]: but after a small cavil or two by way of prelude, he discovers in it two contradictions to true history: the first is this; that *Cicero* is there accused of *censuring the act of killing Cæsar, and of reproaching Casca for it, as an assassin*: whereas *the genuine Cicero constantly applauded that act, and had a particular friendship likewise with Casca* [4]. But of this I have given some account already in the Life of *Cicero*; and shall add something more in my notes on the Epistle itself; to which therefore I must refer the reader [5].

[1] Valde tibi assentior, si multum possit *Octavius*, multo firmitus acta Tyranni comprobata iri, quam in *Telluris*. Atque id contra *Brutum* fore. Ad Att. 16. 14.

[2] Nuperrime ita scripserat *Atticus*, quæ tamen *Ciceroni* attribuis. Tunst. p. 198.

[3] Venio ad Epistolas, atque ad illam imprimis ad *Atticum* sane bellulam. Tunst. Epist. p. 200. See Let. 15.

[4] Ibid. 201, 202.

[5] See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 487. Not. and Let. 15. Not. 3.

The second contradiction is grounded on a hint, that *Brutus* drops in the end of the letter, concerning *certain conditions* offered to *Atticus's* daughter, which he interprets, with *Mammius*, of the conditions of a marriage; and then declares, that *Attica* was but seven years old at this time [1], and could not therefore be ripe for marriage; being born, he says, when *Cicero* was *Proconsul* of *Cilicia*, whence he congratulated *Atticus* by letter upon that birth, in the following words; *Filiolam tuam tibi jam Romæ jucundam esse gaudeo; camque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem esse certo scio* [2]: which I translate thus; *I am glad, that your little daughter is so good company to you now at Rome; and though I never saw her, yet I love her, and am very sure, that she is lovely.* In which words, though our Critic discovers the clear proof of a birth, and a congratulation upon it, yet I cannot see the least tittle of either; or the least probability, that they can admit any such interpretation.

Atticus had been married above five years [3]; and it is not credible, that *Cicero*, who was at his wedding, and particularly interested in every thing, that related to him, should pay so cold a compliment upon so joyful an occasion, as the birth of a first child, after five years of marriage. The case therefore was this, that the daughter, who was now probably four years old, had been nursed all that while in the country, for the greater care of her health, at a distance from *Rome*, whither she had been lately brought for the first time; which gave occasion to this little compliment: or otherwise why should *her being at Rome* be taken notice of; as if to be born there was of any consequence, or a circumstance worth mentioning in a

[1] Sed hoc tempore *Attica* ætatis annum septimum paucis mensibus excesserat, nam, &c. Tunst. Ep. p. 203.

[2] Ad Att. 5. 19. Tunst. Ep. 203.

[3] See Life of Cic. vol. 1. p. 450.

congratulation of that sort? and this interpretation seems to be demonstrably confirmed by another letter, written a short time after, from the same province of *Cilicia*; in which *Cicero* says; *your little daughter is very obliging, in giving you so strict a charge, to pay her compliments to me* [1]. Which cannot be understood of a child, who was but *five months* old; yet so it must be understood, if our Critic's account be admitted, of the time of her birth.

I could produce more testimonies to the same purpose and from the same letters, if this was not sufficient to shew his objection to be wholly groundless. But from the frequent discoveries of this sort, with which he entertains us from the letters to *Atticus*, we may see, with what reason he insults me, for contenting myself with *the obvious and common sense of them*, instead of searching always, like him, for *something exquisite and refined* [2].

As to the other Epistle of *Brutus* to *Cicero*, our Critic, after giving it the finest character, that can be given of an Epistle, both for the art of *it's composition and gravity of it's sentiments* [3], leaves it to us, just as he found it, without any other reflection than that it contains nothing historical. Since this then is so perfect a piece, and so worthy consequently of it's author, that he can neither find, nor invent an objection to it, we must necessarily claim it as genuine, whatever may become of the rest. For an immemorial possession, which no body controverts, will surely give us a right to hold this fine Epistle at least, as an unquestionable monument of pure antiquity.

[1] *Filiola tua gratum mihi fecit, quod tibi diligenter mandavit, ut mihi salutem, ascriberes, &c.* Ad Att. 6. 1. p. 591.

[2] *Hic a te, viro ingenioso, exquisita quædam expectavi, communia ta-*

men invenio. Tunst. Ep. p. 31.

[3] *Jam illa altera Epistola omnes alias & compositionis artificio, & sententiarum gravitate exsuperat &c.* ib. p. 203. Epist. 22.

He proceeds to *Cicero's* celebrated letter, or apology for himself in answer to *Brutus*; where after some trifling exceptions to the character given of *Messala*, in which he discovers *the operose diligence of the Sophist*, he starts an objection of *more weight*, as he calls it [1], because *the suspected Cicero* here praises *Messala*, for having studied and acquired *the best manner of speaking*; whereas there had been a dispute, he tells us, between *the true Cicero and Brutus*, about *that best manner, which the Sophist must needs have been ignorant of, or he would never have touched upon that topic*. It is hard to conceive, what it is that he means by this objection; or what weight he can suppose it to have, towards overthrowing the credit of the letter. If he imagines, that *Brutus* would have been affronted by *Cicero's* mention of *the best manner*, because they had each a different idea of it; or that he would have thought the worse of *Messala*, for studying that manner, which *Cicero* recommended; he judges very weakly of those great men: for notwithstanding their different notions of the *most perfect eloquence, or manner of speaking*, *Brutus* certainly allowed *Cicero* to be the best Speaker of his age: and it was at his desire, and for his information, that *Cicero* drew up those Oratorical pieces, in which he illustrates his own idea of the most perfect way of speaking; and lays down rules for the attainment of it: as this then is a cavil of no force or sense, I shall drop it where I found it, and pass on to the rest.

He next observes, that this letter supposes *M. Brutus* to be *the author of saving Antony's life, when Caesar was killed*; which he declares to be contrary to true History, since *Deci-*

[1] Quis hic non videt operosam So- &c. Tunst. Ep. 224. See Lett. 21. phillæ diligentiam? quod autem majus est.

mus Brutus, as he undertakes to prove, was the *sole adviser of that step* : and to make us sensible, what an extraordinary exploit he is going to perform ; by correcting an inveterate error of all the old Historians ; he first produces two *famous testimonies*, as he calls them from *Plutarch* and *Appian*, which expressly ascribe that counsil to *M. Brutus* [1] : upon which he declares, with his usual gayety, *that it could not be expected from the Sophist, that he should be wiser, than the Historians, who led him into that mistake* [2]. This is a strange turn indeed ! the Sophist must be excused, and the whole blame thrown upon *Plutarch* : and after he has been fighting so strenuously for *Plutarch's authority*, yet now, when he has no occasion for it, he treats it, we see, as a mere *ignis fatuus*, that serves onely to lead people out of the way.

He promises however to make good this point, by the testimony of *Cicero* himself ; and for that purpose alledges two passages from the letters to *Atticus* ; where *Cicero* complaining of the misery of the times, after *Cæsar's* death, and how much they endured, and were like to endure from *Antony*, says, *the fault of all this lies upon one of the Brutus's* [3]. And in another letter, *the whole blame of this belongs to Brutus* [4]. Thus far then we are agreed ; that from the evidence of these passages, the blame must certainly rest upon *one of the Brutus's* : but before we go farther, let us pause a while, and consider, on which side the probability lies.

In the first place, wherever *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*,

[1] Insignia in hanc sententiam sunt verba Plutarchi—in Brut. 992. it. in Anton. 921. & Appian. p. 499. ibid. 206. in Notis.

[2] A *Cicerone* nimirum personato re-

quirendum non erat, ut plus iis, quos sequeretur Historicis, saperet. Tunst. Ep. p. 206.

[3] Ad Att. l. 15. 12.

[4] Ib. 20. Hæc omnis culpa Bruti.

mentions *Brutus* absolutely, or without a prænomen, we may take it for granted, that he means *Marcus*; since there is not, I believe, a single instance to the contrary, except where *Decimus* is so marked out by the context, that we cannot possibly mistake him: and in the second testimony, it is manifest, that he could not mean any body, but *Marcus*; for within a line or two after, speaking still of *the same Brutus* he declares him to be leaving *Italy quickly* [1]; which determines it to *Marcus*. Besides, if we reflect on the different characters of *the two Brutus's*, we should be apt to conclude at once, that it must needs be *Marcus*, whose authority was able to bring over *Cassius*, and sixty more brave men to his single opinion. But if *Cicero* had onely left the thing indifferent, and in common; yet *Plutarch's* positive and repeated testimony, confirmed not onely by *Appian*, but by a better Author than them both, *Paterculus*, who had long before affirmed the same thing of *Marcus* [2], would naturally make us look upon the fact as certain, and the question decided. Yet all this signifies nothing to our Critic, who proceeds boldly, by a third testimony, to fix the whole blame at last upon *Decimus*.

This third testimony is drawn from another letter to *Atticus*; where *Cicero*, giving an account of the conference which he had at *Antium*, with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, concerning the measures, which they ought to pursue, says; that *after much discourse on that subject, the company began to lament their past mistakes, and Cassius above all warmly complained, that they had lost their*

[1] Properemus igitur. Sed juva me consilio, *Brundisium* an *Puteolis*. *Brutus* quidem subito: sed sapienter, &c. Ad Att. 15. 20.

[2] Cum Consul *Antonius* (quem cum

simul interimendum censuisset *Cassius*) — *Brutus* repugnauerat, dictitans, nihil amplius civibus præter Tyranni — petendam esse sanguinem. l. 2. 58

opportunities, and blamed Decimus severely on that account [1]. Now our Critic, who never loses sight of his Hypothesis, declares this *loss of opportunities, charged upon Decimus*, to mean nothing else, but *the omission of killing Antony* [1]: and this is his constant way of supporting his discoveries; by multiplying conjectures, instead of testimonies, and proving one Hypothesis by another. For there were many other opportunities, which they lost, after *Cæsar's* death, that *Cicero* pressed them to lay hold of, and for the omission of which he frequently reproved them: *that they did not summon the Senate into the Capitol, on that first day; and during the consternation of their enemies, seize the whole Republick into their hands; and procede to some vigorous decrees for the establishment of the publick liberty* [3]. And when by the neglect of that advice they were driven soon after out of *Rome*; they lost the opportunity of retrieving their first error by resolving to live quiet and retired, so as to give no pretext for war; dismissing the concourse of their friends, who flocked about them, and rejecting the assistance of all *Italy*, which was eager to arm itself in their cause.

These were the lost opportunities, which *Cassius* lamented, and charged to the account of *Decimus*: who, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* had withdrawn themselves from *Rome*, on account of the tumults, occasioned by *Cæsar's funeral*, continued still privately in the City, to negotiate with *Antony*, by the mediation of *Hirtius*, some measures for their common safety.

[1] Multo inde sermone querebantur utque id quidem *Cassius* maxime, amissas occasione; *Decimusque* graviter accusabat. Ad Att. 15. 11.

[2] Tunt. Ep. page 207.

[3] Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo die Capitolino, Senatum, in Ca-

pitulum a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis—fratris latronibus?—Ad Att. 14. 10.

Illam Sessionem Capitolinam mihi non placuisse, tu testis es, &c. ib. 14.

Whence he acquaints them with what he had been transacting, in the following letter ; which I have chosen to insert, as it gives some light, not onely to the present question, but to others also, which may fall in our way, in the progress of this dispute.

D. Brutus to Brutus and Cassius.

“ Observe what a situation we are now in. Yesterday in the
 “ evening, *Hirtius* was with me and plainly told me, in what
 “ a disposition *Antony* was; namely the worst and most
 “ treacherous : for he said, that he could neither grant me
 “ the Province; nor believed, that any of us could be safe
 “ in *Rome*, where the soldiers and the populace were so much
 “ irritated against us: both which, I imagine, you perceive to
 “ be false ; as well as that it is true, what *Hirtius* declared ; that
 “ he is afraid, lest, if we should acquire any little accession of
 “ dignity, no share of the publick administration would be left
 “ for any of them. Under these difficulties I thought
 “ it best, to demand an honorary legation for myself, and
 “ the rest of our friends ; that we might have a decent pretext
 “ for going abroad. This he undertook to procure : but I
 “ am confident, he will not be able to procure it; such is the
 “ insolence of people, and such their malice towards us : and
 “ should they grant us even what we ask, I am yet of opinion,
 “ that presently after, we should either be declared to be enemies,
 “ or interdicted from water and fire. What is it then, you
 “ will say, that I would advise? We should yield a while, I
 “ think to fortune ; retreat out of *Italy*; remove to *Rhodes*,
 “ or any other part of the earth. If things should turn out
 “ in our favour we will come back to *Rome* ; if they afford
 “ but an indifferent prospect, we will live in exile; but if the
 “ worst

“ worst should happen, we will betake ourselves to the last
 “ remedy. But some of you perhaps may here object; why
 “ should we wait for the last extremity, rather than attempt
 “ something at the present? Because we have no place as yet
 “ where to make a stand; except with *S. Pompeius*, or *Bassus*
 “ *Cæcilius*; who, upon the news of *Cæsar’s* death, seem
 “ likely to grow stronger: and it will be time enough for
 “ us to go to them, when we know for certain, what strength
 “ they have. If you would have me undertake for any thing,
 “ on the part of *Cassius* and you, I will engage my word for
 “ you, for this is what *Hirtius* requires me to do. I beg
 “ of you, to send me an answer as soon as possible: for I
 “ make no doubt, but that *Hirtius* will let me know, before
 “ ten a-clock, in what place we may meet together again upon
 “ these affairs. Send me word also, whither you would have
 “ me come to you. After the last conference with *Hirtius*,
 “ I took a resolution to demand, that we might be allowed
 “ to stay at *Rome*, with a public guard: which I do not
 “ think they will grant us; since our presence will draw a
 “ great odium upon them: I thought it my business however,
 “ to demand every thing, which I took to be equitable [1].

From this letter it appears, what it was, that *Decimus* ad-
 vised *Brutus* and *Cassius* to do, after *Cæsar’s* death. *To sit still*
for the present, and to attempt nothing vigorous; but to retire
even out of Italy and expect what chance might offer to them: and
 it seems probable, that in the next conference with *Hirtius*, he
 actually engaged his word for them, that they should under-
 take nothing against the public quiet, but live retired, at a
 distance from *Rome*; on the condition of a promise from *An-*

[1] *Epist. Fam.* 11. 1.

tony, that he would ensure their safety, and calm the disorders of the City, and restore peace to the Republic. For this was the conduct, which they actually pursued; and which they professed to pursue, *by Antony's advice, and from a dependence upon his promises* [1]: and it was likewise, what *Hirtius* particularly required from them, and *insisted with Cicero, that they should continue to pursue* [2]: and soon after the time of this letter, *Brutus and Cassius* had a personal conference with *Antony*, which seems to have passed to mutual satisfaction, and where this same agreement was probably confirmed [3].

Here then we see a clear and consistent story, positively attested by three ancient Historians, that *M. Brutus*, and not *Decimus*, was the author of *saving Antony*. But what is most remarkable, the same fact is confirmed by *Cicero* himself, and in that very letter, which our Critic has alledged to confute it: where *Cicero*, in relating the particulars of his conference with *Brutus and Cassius*, says, “ that when he entered upon the
“ mention, of what they ought to have done, he took care,
“ not to touch upon that point, *that some body else should have*
“ *been killed, as well as Cæsar*; but chose to say onely, what all
“ the world said at that time, that they ought to have summoned the Senate into the Capitol, and taken the advantage
“ of the zeal of the people, &c [4]. These were the lost op-

[1] Sed certe, cum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus, tuoque adducti consilio diuixerimus ex municipis nostros necessarios— Nos ab initio spectasse otium, nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quesivisse, exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos potest nisi tu—tibi enim uni credidimus, & creditori sumus, &c. ib. 11. 2.

[2] *Brutus & Cassius* utinam —ne quod calidius incant consilium.—Retine, obsecro te, *Cicero*, illos—tantum, si quid timent, caveant. Nihil præterea moliantur. Ad

Att. 15. 6. Epist. Hirtii ad Cicer.

[3] *Antony's colloquium cum Heroibus* nostris pro re nata non inconmodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

[4] Cumque ingressus essem dicere quid oportuisset; nec vero quidquam novi, sed ea quæ quotidie omnes; nec tamen illam locum attingere: *quæsum præterea oportuisse tangi*, sed Senatus vocari, populum ardentem studio vehementius incitari, &c. Ad Att. 15. 11.

portunities, that *Cassius* lamented, and charged to the account of *Decimus*, who was absent: for *Cicero's* caution, about touching on the affair of *saving Antony*, could not flow from any other motive, but his respect to *M. Brutus*, the author of it, who was present: and for the same reason *Cassius* also, who lived in a perfect union with him, would not touch upon so tender a point, which must needs have made him uneasy, especially when *Brutus's* mother, *Servilia*, and his wife, *Porcia*, and his sister *Tertia*, *Cassius's* wife, were a part of the company.

But our Critic refers us on this occasion to *Mr. Montgault's* authority and comment upon the place [1]; whose words are these; "*Paterculus* tells us, that it was *Cassius's* advice to kill "*Antony*, together with *Cæsar*, and that *Decimus Brutus* opposed it. *Plutarch* and *Appian*, who usually copy him, say, "that it was *M. Brutus*: but there is reason to judge from this "passage, that it was *Decimus*; and the rather, because this "last had served a long time with *Antony* under *Cæsar* [2]." *Mr. Mongault*, we see, builds his interpretation upon the testimony of *Paterculus*; in which he happens to be wholly mistaken; since *Paterculus*, as I have already shewn, directly affirms the contrary; that it was *M. Brutus*, not *Decimus*, who conceived the design of killing *Antony* [3]. *Mr. Mongault* was drawn inadvertently into this mistake by two eminent Commentators, *Bosius* and *Popma*, who had declared the same before

[1] Tord. Ep. p. 70. Not

[2] *Mongault* Remar. 3. in Ep. ad Att. 15. 11.

[3] Quo anno id patraverit facinus, *Brutus* & *C. Cassius*, prætores erant; *D. Brutus* consul designatus. Hi—suppatis gladiatores *D. Bruti* manus, Capitegium 97.

capere. cum Consul *Antonius* (quem cum simul interendum censuisset *Cassius*—*Brutus* repugnasset, dictitans, nihil amplius civibus, præter Tyrannum—petendum esse sanguinem, &c.) Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 58.

him [1]: which shews what little dependence ought to be placed, in questions of this sort, on second-hand testimonies, without recurring to the originals. But from this unlucky reference to *Mr. Mongault*, we plainly see, that our Critic's great attempt, *to correct the false tradition of antiquity*, was grounded at last on nothing else, but a gross and palpable error [2].

He produces another imaginary contradiction, between the true *Cicero* and the author of this letter, who says, *when I saw the City in the hands of Traitors, oppressed by the arms of Antony, and that neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it, I thought it time for me to quit it too*. This plainly implies, he says, *that Cicero did not leave Rome, till Brutus had first left it*, whereas it is certain, *that he quitted it immediately after the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, and that Brutus and Cassius staid in in it some time longer* [3]; for the proof of which he refers us to four of *Cicero's* letters to *Atticus* [4]. Now the meeting of the Senate in that Temple was on *the 17th of March* [5]; and from the letters to which we are refered, it appears, that *Cicero* did

[1] Vid. Notas Besii & Popmæ in Equit. ad Att. l. 1. §. 12. Edit. Grav.

[2] This use of *Mr. Mongault's* testimony seems to betray no small dissimulation in our Critic, and would make us apt to suspect that he is more sollicitous to establish an Hypothesis, than the Truth. He had undertaken to prove, that *D. Brutus* was the author of saving *Antony's* life. *Mr. Mongault* had declared himself of the same opinion; but upon the mistaken authority of *Paterculus*, who in reality declares the contrary. Our Critic in all probability must have seen that mistake, yet thought fit to dissemble it, because the confession of it would have overthrown his own opinion, and *Mr. Mongault's* testi-

mony at the same time; from which he might hope however to draw some advantage; imagining, as it generally happens in such cases, that few or none of his readers would take the pains to examine it.

[3] Aperte dicit, quod tunc etiam intellexisti, se urbe excessisse postea, quam *Brutus & Cassius* excessissent—statim post eum diem urbe excessisse eam—veræ ejus Epistolæ declarant. Tuntl. p. 208.

[4] Ad Att. l. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[5] It was *the third day* after *the Ides*, when *Antony* summoned the Senate into this Temple. Phil. 2. 35. which was the Feast also of *Bacchus* called *Liberalia*, on 16 Kal April ad Att. l. 14. 10.

not leave *Rome* till about the 5th or 6th of *April*, near three weeks later, than our Critic supposes him to have quitted it. But how does he prove that *Brutus* and *Cassius* staid in it all that while? Why because *Cicero*, in a letter dated *April* 11th, says, that they were forced to hide their heads, or to keep themselves close within their own walls [1]: and in another, dated the 12th, that they had held a conference with *Antony* [2]: neither of which implies, that they must necessarily be in the City: for whether they were in it, or in the near neighbourhood of it, in the one of which they undoubtedly were, they kept themselves so close, that none but their own domestics knew where they were: and it is most probable, that their conference with *Antony* was held out of the City, where they could hold it with more ease and safety, than in the midst of the riots within. This however is certain, that neither *Cicero* nor *Brutus* went out of *Rome*, till after *Cæsar's* funeral, and the tumults that ensued upon it. *Plutarch* declares, that *Brutus* and his accomplices quitted it directly upon that very occasion [3]; which is confirmed, as we have seen above by *Decimus's* letter: and *Cicero* mentions *Brutus* to have been seen near *Lanuvium*, before the 14th of *April* [4]. So that without any contradiction to what is said in his genuine letters, *Cicero* might possibly stay in *Rome*, till *Brutus* retired out of it. But if *Brutus* after all had onely disappeared, or kept himself close within the City, for a few days before he left it, or had continued there in private, for a day or two after *Cicero* was gone, which is the utmost that can be pretended, it would be inirely consistent with every thing, that is said or implied about it in these suspected letters.

[1] Parietibus contineri. Ad Att. 14. 5

[2] Ad Att. 6.

[3] Plut. in Brut.

[4] Brutum nostrum audio visum sub
Lanuvio, ibid. 7.

He urges another objection of the same kind, drawn from these words, *you were retreating, Brutus, were retreating, I say; since your Stoics will not allow their wiseman to fly.* Where the Sophist, he says, foolishly blames Brutus's retreat out of Italy, which the true Cicero had advised [1]. But by the same way of reasoning, every caviller, whose views do not reach to the whole of things, and who makes no allowance for different circumstances, may find contradictions in any thing, that a man either says or does.

I have observed above, what is opened more at large in *my Life of Cicero*, that from the moment of *Cæsar's* death, *Cicero* constantly urged *Brutus* to vigorous measures, and not to trust to *Antony*, who would promise every thing and perform nothing. *Brutus*, on the other hand, depending on the integrity of his cause, and having conceived some hopes of *Antony*, resolved to proceed calmly, and give no pretext on his part for war. When by this indolence, he was driven out of *Rome*, he pursued the same resolution, of living quiet and retired in the country. *Cicero* in the mean time, displeased to see him sit idle, while *Antony* was gathering an army about him, advised him and *Cassius*, in the conference above mentioned, instead of doing nothing at home, where their persons were exposed to danger, to accept a Commission, which the Senate had provided for them, and to go abroad: where they would not only be safe, but might have an opportunity of securing some of the provinces and armies to their interests. But this advice also was rejected, and *Brutus* continued still inactive; waiting, as *Cicero* tells us, for some favourable turn of affairs at *Rome*; till finding his hopes disappointed, and his enemies grown too strong for

[1] Transl. p. 209.

him in *Italy*, he was forced at last to retreat, in order to try his fortune elsewhere.

With this Comment, the passage in question will be found consistent with every thing that is said by the *true Cicero*. The letter objected to, is an apology for *Cicero's* conduct, in answer to the exceptions of *Brutus*; wherein *Cicero* takes occasion to recapitulate the motives of all his measures, from the time of *Cæsar's* death; and puts *Brutus* in mind of what he had advised at that time, both to him and *Cassius*; and how by adhering to their own pacific maxims, in opposition to his advice, they had been forced to quit *Rome*, and afterwards *Italy* itself.

Nor is it yet, as our Critic imagines, the act of *quitting Italy*, that is censured at all in this place; for that was become necessary in *Brutus's* present circumstances; and as such is even commended by *the true Cicero* [1]; but it is *Brutus's* general conduct, which is blamed, for driving him to that necessity, of *flying out of Italy*, when by following *Cicero's* counsel, he might have been master of it. For it is certain, that *Cicero* never wished or advised him to go abroad, till by his own fault he could no longer be safe at home [2]

But our Critic does not reflect, that by this very argument he makes *the true Cicero* not onely contradict the Sophist, but confute even himself; and by the same method therefore, may prove any other part of *Cicero's* works to be spurious, as easily as these letters. For *Cicero*, as I have shewn, often complains in his letters to *Atticus*, that *Brutus* had lost his opportunities, and

[1] *Brutus* quidem subito sed sapienter. Ad Att. 15. 20.

[2] —age, quiescant auctoribus nobis? quis incolumitatem præstet? [ad Att. 15. 10.] Ego—suadere ut uteretur Asiatica oratione frumenti. nihil esse jam reliqui.

nisi ut salvos esse. In eo etiam ipsi Reip. esse præsidium—tuto enim non eris [Romæ.] Quid si possem esse? placeretne? atque ita, ut omnino neque nunc neque ex Prætura in provinciam ires, Ad Att. 11

even ruined his cause by his indolence, in those very first days of his residence in the Capitol [1]. Yet the same Cicero, in a Speech to the Senate, applauds that very indolence, and his retreat out of Italy, as a wonderful instance of his patience, moderation and love of peace: whom no injuries could provoke to think of war, till he saw the Senate itself obliged to take arms [2]. But with a proper allowance for different circumstances, this will be found entirely consistent; and both the one, and the other perfectly agreeable to Cicero's character: first, to give the best advice to Brutus, that he was able; and if that was rejected, then to make the best construction, and the best use of the measures, which Brutus chose to pursue.

The next contradiction, urged against the same letter, is this, that whereas it tells us, that Servius first moved the Senate, to grant Octavius the privilege, of suing for the public Magistracies before his regular time, and that Servilius also moved, to shorten that time, yet it appears from Cicero's genuine writings, that he himself was the first, and the only one, who made any such motion [3].

It is declared indeed in one of Cicero's *Philippics*, that among the honors granted to Octavius, at Cicero's motion, it was decreed, that he might sue for the public Offices, as if he were then

[1] Itane vero? hec meo & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii esset — meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino decernatam in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Di immortales! que tam optata, nec potuerunt —? libertas —? quid fieri tum potuit? jam pridem pœneramus. ibid. 14. 10.

[2] Tantamne patientiam. Du bene?

tantam moderationem, tantam in injuria tranquillitatem & modestiam? &c. Phil. 10. 1.

[3] Cæsar tempore illo, quo imperium Cæsar deciebat, primo, eoque ipso, ut verius dicam, ipso, sententiam dixit ipse, non alicujus adfensus est. Tunc. Ep. p. 211

of *Quæstorian rank* [1]. But how does it appear, that no body but *Cicero*, had ever made the same motion either in that, or any other meeting of the Senate ? For as this was but a part, and the most inconsiderable one, of those honors, which *Cicero* decreed to him, so it may be presumed, with regard to this particular article, that it had been proposed before by *Servius*, and that *Servilius* might move still, to carry it one step farther, so as to have *Octavius* considered, as an *Ædilician* ; and that *Cicero* might close with his friend *Servius*, and then add the other greater honors ; *the legal command of his army, with the rank and ornaments of a Prætor*. This solution is intimated by *Manutius* [2] ; and may fairly be presumed, I say, upon the credit of these letters ; till it can be shewn to be either absurd in itself, or flatly contradicted by a better authority. For otherwise, our Critic's argument is a mere *petitio principii*, which doubly begs the question ; first, in rejecting the fact, because it is found in these suspected letters, and then rejecting the letters, because this suspected fact is found in them.

He charges another inconsistency upon the eighteenth letter, which he discovers in these words ; “ as to *Cæsar*, who has
 “ been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an
 “ excellent disposition and admirable constancy ; some people
 “ by most wicked letters, messages, and fallacious accounts
 “ of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the Con-
 “ sulship : which, as soon as I perceived, I never ceased ad-
 “ monishing him in absence, nor reproaching his friends, who
 “ are present, and who seemed to encourage his ambition :

[1] *Ejusque rationem, quemcunque* fuisset. Phil. 5. 17.
Magistratum appetet, ita haberi, ut haberi
per leges liceret, si anno superiore Quæstor

[2] See *Manutius's* note upon the place.

“ nor did I scruple, to lay open the source of those traitorous counsils in the Senate [1].” Where he observes in the first place, that we have a quite different account of this affair from *Plutarch*: whose authority is again called to his assistance; though in the last instance, when it was expressly on the side of these letters, he declared it to be of no other use, but to mislead a poor *Sophist*. But now he tells us, that *though the Sophist appears to have seen what Plutarch says*, yet being resolved to defend *Cicero*, he chose to take no notice of it: and he thinks it certain likewise, “ *that Cicero would never have called Octavius’s attempt upon the Consulship a most wicked one, or exposed the source of it in the Senate, when he himself had decreed to him the honors above mentioned, and given him an assured prospect of the Consulship* [2].”

Cicero had decreed to *Octavius* the privilege of pretending to the public Magistracies, as if he had already been a *Quæstor*: which gave him the start by ten years, before all others of the same age: for he was now scarce *twenty years old*; and could not legally have obtained the *Quæstership*, till he was *thirty*. Yet this privilege left him still at a great distance from the Consulship: which he could not yet pretend to, till he had passed through the *Ædileship* or *Tribunate*, and after that, the *Prætorship*: all which, with the regular interval between each of them, would require about ten years more, before he could arrive at the Consulship.

But our Critic, by the manner of pushing his argument, seems to mistake the matter and to imagine, that by the rank and ensigns of a *Prætor*, decreed to him by *Cicero*, he was in effect to be considered as a *Prætor*, and had nothing left, but

[1] Tunst. Ep. p. 212.

petitione Consulatus habita, sceleratissima

[2] *Cicero* certe consilia illa, de Cæsaris vix appellasset, &c. Tunst. 213.

to demand the Consulship at the next step : whereas *his rank of Prætor* reached no farther, than to a mere precedence in the Senate ; whilst in other respects, he was to be treated onely as a *Quæstor* ; and to pass through all the higher offices in their turn. *Cicero* then might well be shocked, as every body else was ; that a boy, not twenty years old, should not be content with the extraordinary honors, already decreed to him, but in contempt of those, who decreed them, resolve at once to seize the Consulship ; since an ambition so extravagant, and so bold an insult upon the laws, was not likely to stop there, but threatened the utmost danger to the liberty of the Republic,

He alledges another fact, as a farther ground of suspicion upon these letters, that in letter the 11th, dated *the 15th of May*, *Brutus* begins to express his apprehensions, that *Octavius* would make an attempt upon the Consulship, before *Octavius* himself had given the least indication of it [1]. But why does he fancy, that *Octavius* had not given any intimation of such a design ? The Consuls had been dead about a month ; and all *Rome* was expecting who should succede them ; where all people's eyes and thoughts would necessarily be turned upon *Octavius*, as the onely person in *Italy*, who could impose what Consuls he pleased : and who, by his refusal to pursue *Antony*, or to take any farther step against the declared enemies of the Republic, seemed to be forming some projects, which alarmed the friends of liberty ; and in consequence of which, he afterwards seized the Consulship in *August* [2]. *D. Brutus*, we find, in a letter to *Cicero*, dated *May the 5th*, plainly intimates his appre-

[1] *Brutus enim—timet statim (prius etiam, quam Cæsar ipse suæ voluntatis indicium ullum ediderat) de Consulatu, &c. Tunst. Ep. 213.*

[2] *Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit —quia hoc sibi & primus Consulatus, &c. Sueton. in Aug. c. 31. Dio. P. 552.*

hensions on this very article [1]. Yet our Critic will not allow *M. Brutus* to be half so sagacious as his namesake ; or capable of apprehending what *Decimus* had suspected about a fortnight before : for on the improbability of such a supposition, the force of his present objection depends.

He next produces, what he calls *a manifest and most shameful blunder*, from the 14th letter [2], where *Cicero* says ; *as to what you write concerning the Sedition about C. Antonius, in the 4th Legion, &c.* Upon which our Critic insults the poor Sophist, for his scandalous ignorance, in not knowing, what is mentioned so frequently in *Cicero's Philippics*, that the 4th legion, which is here said to be with *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, was actually with *Hirtius* at this time before *Modena* [3] : and so far I allow, that the 4th veteran legion was now fighting against *Antony*, in *Italy* ; and on that account is so often celebrated in *Cicero's Philippics*, that no man, who had compiled them so diligently as this Sophist, could possibly be ignorant of it. I allow likewise, that the Roman legions were distinguished, according to the order of their enrollment, by the names of the 2d, 3d, 4th, &c. But to clear the letters still from this *manifest blunder*, I take it for a certain fact, though our Critic, it seems, does not know it, that the Roman Generals, who had occasion to raise new legions in distant parts of the Empire, used to name them according to the order, in which they themselves raised them, without re-

[1] Quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulium, quantumque cupiditatem hominibus injiciat vacuitas, te non fugit. Ep. Fam. 11. 10.

[2] Jam aliam ἀνισογενσίαν adfero, manifestam quidem illam & plane pudendam. Tust. p. 215.

[3] Nunquamne in *Orationibus Ciceronis*

Philippicis, quarum tamen dicta sententiasque sapenumero compilasse videtur, legionem quartam *Cæsaris* fortunas a principio belli secutam esse animadvertit ; hocque tempore ipso sub *Hirtio* Consule, duce militasse ? quæ quidem ignorantia ideo turpior est, &c. ibid. 216.

gard to any other legions whatsoever. Thus I have observed, in some ancient inscriptions, *two distinct legions*, called at the same time *the 4th*: viz. the *4th Scythian*, and *the 4th Flavian*: the one having been raised on the confines of *Scythia*; and the other somewhere else by *Vespasian* [1]: and in *Gruter's collection*, we may find *six* or *seven* more under the same denomination, but distinguished by different surnames, drawn chiefly from the places, in which they had been raised, or had long resided; as *IIII Cyrenaica*, *Gallica*, *Italica*, *Sorana*, in *Hispania*, &c. Thus *Dio* likewise, in a catalogue of all *the veteran legions*, which had been kept up to his time, from the reign of *Augustus*, reckons *three*, which were each severally called, in different parts of the Empire, by the name of *the third legion*; one in *Phœnicia*, one in *Arabia*, and one in *Numidia*: *two* others also, called *the 6th*; one in *Britain*, and one in *Judæa*: and in the same manner *the 7th*, *8th*, and *10th*, appear likewise to have been *duplicates* [2].

[1] Vid. Marfigli Hist. Danub. Tom. 2. p. 122, 123.

[2] Dio. p. 564. Edit. Hanov. In the

area of the Capitol at *Rome*, there is an ancient Stone, with the names of the following Legions inscribed on it.

NOMINA LEG.

II AVGVSTA
VI VICTRIX
XX VICTRIX
VIII AVGVSTA
XXII PRIMIGENIA
I MINERVIA
XXX VLPIA
I ADIVTRIX
X GEMINA
XIIII GEMINA
I PARTHICA
II ADIVTRIX
IIII FLAVIA
VII CLAVDIA
I ITALICA
V MACEDONICA

XI CLAVDIA
XIII GEMINA
XII FVLMINATRIX
XV APOLLINEA
III GALLICANA
II PARTHICA
IIII SCYTHICA
XVI FLAVIA
VI FERRATENSIS
X PRETENSIS
III CYRENENSIS
II TRAIANA
III AVGVSTA
VII GEMINA
II ITALICA
XIII PARTHICA.

Brutus therefore, when he made himself master of *Macedonia*, having secured *all the veteran troops in that Province, and raised new ones* [1], to the number, as it is here said, of *five legions*, distinguished them undoubtedly by the order, in which he himself had raised and placed them, without respect to any other legions in the Empire. For in that time of confusion, when every General was raising not onely new, but hostile and opposite legions, it was hardly possible, to distinguish them otherwise; since it was not easy to know, either the distinct number of the whole Empire, or that of their particular enemies. *Dec. Brutus* was at the head of *ten*, or at least of *seven legions*, all of them new: *Ventidius* at the same time had raised *three* for the service of *Antony*: so that *Brutus*, in giving an account of *the Sedition* in his army, could not mark out the particular legion, in which it happened, in any other manner, but that of the order, in which it stood among his own *five legions*.

He discovers another inconsistency in the same letter, which he calls still *more wonderfull*: for *Antony's defeat and flight from Modena* are mentioned in it, he says, by *Brutus*, *before he could possibly have heard of them*: which he proves from the date of the letter, as it now stands in all the Editions, on the *18th of April*, whereas the news of that event did not arrive at *Rome*, till *after the 20th* [2]. But the dates of letters, as every novice in Criticism knows, are too weak a foundation to lay any stress upon; on account of the infinite blunders, that are perpetually made in them, through the ignorance or inadvertency of transcribers, in all MSS whatsoever. They were described by nu-

[1] *Brutus*—in *Macedoniam* advolavit
— legiones conscripsit novas, exceptis
veteribus. *Philipp.* 11. 12.

[2] *Alia* porro in eadem *Epistola Cicero*
noster memorarat magis adhuc mirabilia.
Tunst. p. 216.

P R E F A C E.

meral letters, according to the Roman way of computing, by the *Nones, Ides, and Kalends* of each month, in this manner ; vi, v, iv, iii, &c. Non. viii, vii, vi, &c. Id. xvii, xvi, xv, &c. Kal. and there is scarce a possible mistake, that can be committed, either by adding, deducting, or transposing any of these numerals, but what has actually been made, in some of the best MSS, and is still found even in the best editions of *Cicero's* works [1]. For example ; in one of his letters to his Brother, where he is giving an account of the transactions at *Rome* for several days successively, *all the dates*, as they now stand, are manifestly contradictory to the contents of the letter, and must necessarily be changed, before they can be reduced to a consistency with it [2]. Thus also, one of the letters to *Tiro* [3], is dated *xv Kal. Nov.* where some MSS dropping the x, make it *v Kal. Nov.* others changing the month, make it *xv Kal. Dec.* yet the original date, as it evidently appears from a following letter, was *xvi Kal. Dec.* [4].

The dates of letters then cannot be urged in prejudice to facts, unless they themselves be first proved to be genuin, or there appear no reason at least to suspect them. But in this case, it is as hard to conceive, that a Sophist should flatly con-

[1] Sometimes an x is dropt out of the date : thus instead of *xiiii Kal.* some copies have *iiii Kal.* [Ep. Fam. 10. 6.] Sometimes it is changed into v, and vice versa ; and where we find *viii Kal.* other MSS give *xviii Kal.* [ad Att. 8. 6.] Some of the single strokes are oft omitted or added to the original date : so that instead of *ii*, some copies have *iii*, others *iiii* Non. [ad Att. 7. 19.] The *Kalends* likewise are often changed to *Ides* or *Nones*, and vice versa : as where we read *iv Kal. Feb.* some MSS have *v Id. Feb.* [ad Att. 8. 11.] And instead of *Prid.*

Id. Sext. others, *prid. Kl. & prid. K. Sex.* [Ep. Fam. 14. 23.] And lastly, one month is sometimes put for another. As for *iiii Kal. Jun.* others have *iiii Kal. Maii*, and others, *iii Kal. Maii.* [ad Att. 3. 8.] All which mistakes, with many instances of each, the reader will observe, by comparing *the dates of the letters*, in *Grævius's* edition, with the various readings, which he has collected of them.

[2] Ad Quint. Fratr. 1. 2. 3.

[3] Ep. Fam. 1. 16. 7.

[4] Vid. *ibid.* Ep. 9.

tradict, by the date, what he affirms in the letter, as that *Cicero* himself should have done it. Our Critic therefore, if he expects to make any impression, must not depend upon *dates*, as of any force in the question : for where he has nothing else to alledge, we shall reduce those dates to a conformity with the facts, and his pretended contradictions will vanish at once : which is a sufficient answer, not onely to the present objection, but to all others of the same kind.

He offers another of his *notable* objections, as he calls them, to letter the xith ; wherein *Brutus*, expressing his joy for the victory at *Modena*, declares himself particularly pleased, *that Decimus's eruption or sally out of the Town, was of such moment towards determining the victory* [1]. Here *Brutus*, he says, *speaks of this eruption, before he had heard of it*. Because the express, which brought the first news of the victory, signified, that *Decimus* continued still blocked up in *Modena* : and so he certainly did, when that first express came away. But our Critic either widely mistakes, or wilfully perplexes this fact : for as I have shewn elsewhere [2], there were *two several victories* obtained against *Antony* before *Modena* : in the first, *Pansa* was mortally wounded, but *Antony's* troops defeated by *Hirtius* : in the second, *Antony* was utterly routed, though *Hirtius* himself was killed ; and *Dec. Brutus*, by forcing his way at the same time out of the Town, helped to complete the victory. The first of these victories was gained on the 15th of *April*, and the news of it arrived at *Rome* on the 20th : of which we have a distinct relation still remaining : as well as of the rejoicings, made for it at *Rome*, and of the honors,

[1] Sed in re *Bruti eruptionis* aliud est perquam notabile. Transl. 217.

[2] Life of *Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 427.

decreed for it to the victorious Generals [1]. The *second* victory, which was more complete, happened a day or two after; and the news of it reached *Rome*, at the same distance of time: but there is no other account of it now extant, except what may be gathered from some scattered hints, and occasional references to it.

Now in this suspected letter to *Brutus*, dated *the 22d of April*, *Cicero* makes but a slight mention of these two victories, as knowing, what he there declares, *that all the particulars of them were sent to him by other hands*: and *Brutus's* letter, in which he speaks of *Decimus's eruption*, and returns an answer at the same time to some of the particulars of *Cicero's*, is dated *the 15th of May*; during which interval of above three weeks, our Critic supposes, and on that supposition builds his notable objection, that *Brutus* had not heard a syllable more of that most important event, either from *Cicero*, or any body else, than what was slightly intimated in the letter just mentioned, of *the 22d of April*. A supposition, utterly incredible; and expressly contradicted by the very letter, which we are considering.

But he pushes this objection still farther; and makes an attempt even to persuade us, that *Antony voluntarily quitted the siege of Modena*, before he was forced to it; and that *D. Brutus* therefore could not make any *such eruption*, as is here pretended [2]: and what is still more strange, that *this same eruption is not taken notice of by any other writer, but the author of these letters* [1]: though he himself has pointed out a passage, where

[2] Vid. Ep. Fam. 10. 30. Philip. 14.

[2] *Appianus* porro *Antonium*, mutinæ, obfidionem reliquisse narrat.—Concinit *Pollionis* Epistola ad *Ciceronem* ipsam

[1] Neque quidem præliis iis, quæ postea commissa sunt, quibusque, fuis tamen *Antonii* copiis, Consules ceciderunt, quidquam de *eruptione Bruti* auditur, nisi ab his, *Bruto & Ciccone*. Tunst, ib.

Tunst. p. 219. Not.

it is [by the ~~the~~ true Cicero: who expostulating with D. Brutus, for not pursuing Antony, after so intire a rout, but giving him time to recollect himself, says, " that famous eruption of yours out of Modena, brought us such assured hopes of an absolute victory, from the account of Antony's flight, and his army cut to pieces, that all mens minds were unbent at once, and cannot be brought to think again of war [1]." Now does not *this famous eruption*, as it is called by the real Cicero, tally exactly with what is here said of it, by the imaginary Sophist; that it was an action of vigor and importance towards determining the victory? And can Antony's flight, and army cut to pieces, consist with a voluntary retreat from the Siege? Yet our Critic, it seems, by his refining art, can extract this exquisite sense out of it.

But he urges us with a contradiction between the letters themselves; because in the 14th letter, Brutus is said to have five legions, with an excellent body of horse, and a great number of auxiliaries; yet in the 4th, is declared to want both money and recruits. Which knot, says our Critic, you in vain endeavour to solve, by telling us, that though Brutus in his public letters to the Senate, signified nothing but what was prosperous, yet in his private letters to Cicero, he laid open his wants [2]. But for my part, I never dreamt of any knot in the case; nor can I now see any, but in our Critic's imagination; who fancies, that five legions, with an excellent body of horse, was a force sufficient to support the liberty of Rome. Whereas when D. Brutus, who had ten legions, was joined with Plancus, who had four, as good as any

[1] Tantam spem attulerat exploratæ victoriæ tuæ præclara mutinæ eruptio, fuga Antonii, conciso exercitū, &c. Ep. Fam. 11. 14.

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[2] Itaque in hoc nodo explicando parum proficiat, cum dicis, Brutum privatis litteris indicasse inopiam suam, publicis dissimulasse. Tanst. p. 223. Life of Cicero. v. 2. p. 372.

in the Empire, with the strongest body of horse; yet they both earnestly demanded *supplies*; without which, they declared themselves too weak, to venture a battel with *Lepidus* and *Antony* [1]: and they had great reason to press that demand; since *Antony*, as *Plutarch* tells us, after his union with *Lepidus*, marched into *Italy* with *seventeen legions and ten thousand horse*, and left *six legions* still behind him in *Gaul* [2]. *Brutus* therefore, a great part of whose troops was newly raised, and unprovided with necessaries, might well call for recruits, though he had *five complete legions*.

He goes on to tell us, that he finds the same contradiction to true history, with regard also to the affairs of *Cassius* [3]. But what he has produced to support that assertion, is so perplexed and involved, that I am at a loss how to unravel it. Forasmuch as jumbling together several facts of a different kind, and of different times; and among the rest, the account of *Cassius's success in Syria*, he declares, that these new events gave birth to the *xixth Philippic*. Where it is not easy to conceive, what it is, that he would suggest to us. Whether it be, that by the blundering account of these letters, *Cassius's success*, the news of which did not arrive at *Rome* till *April*, is made the occasion of the *xixth Philippic*, which was spoken in *March*: or whether he would have us take it for his own opinion, that *Cassius's success* did really give occasion to that speech. But whether he means the one or the other, it is certain, that he mistakes the matter; and that the letters in question are perfectly consistent on

[1] Copias nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt veterane tres, tirorum vel luculentissimæ ex omnibus una: in castris *Bruti*, una veterana legio, altera blima, octo tirorum. Ita

universus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus, &c. Ep. Fam. 10. 24.

[2] Plut. in Anton. p. 923.

[3] De C. item Cassio non minora peccata sunt. Tunst. p. 223.

this head; since they neither suppose *the news of Cassius to arrive at Rome, till the beginning of April*, nor make any reference to *Cicero's xith Philippic*, but as to a speech, delivered before that time, and without any relation to *that news*: as every one will perceive from the letters themselves, to which he refers us [1].

His next objection, though more intelligible, is not more to the purpose; where he observes, that *Cicero*, according to these letters, received an account of *Cassius's success, in the beginning of April*, yet writing afterwards to *Brutus*, on the 5th of May, he says; *as to Cassius's forces, we know nothing at all about them; for we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence, that we could certainly depend upon* [2]. Upon this, he insults, as upon a flagrant contradiction. *What is become now*, says he, *of Brutus's express on Cassius's affairs, on which Cicero congratulated himself so much, on the xith of April? And how can he write in this manner to Brutus, from whom he had received a distinct account of those very forces long before* [3]? But, if he will have a little patience, he will find it all consistent. For though *Cicero* had heard in *April*, that *Cassius* was master of all the forces in *Syria*, yet from that time, he had not heard a syllable of what he had done with those forces; or which way he had marched with them; and was in the utmost expectation to hear of some action performed with them. This is all that is meant in the passage before us; as it appears from a letter of *the true Cicero* to *Cassius* himself; wherein he professes the same ignorance

[1] Vid. Epist. ad Brut. 3, 4.

[2] Vid. Epist. ad Brut. 3, 10.

[3] Ubi nunc sunt *Bruti nostri* nuncii, de *Cassii* rebus gestis, quibus *iii Id. Apr.* 225. audixit, *Cicero* Reip. gratulabatur? Quo-

modo porro nunc scribit ad *Brutum*—qui de copiis iis *Brutum* ipsum καὶ αὐτὸν narrantem longe ante audiverat? Tnnst. p.

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still of Cassius's forces in July, which the suspected Cicero does here in May: his words are these. "As for your army, I will do every thing to serve it, that lies in my power. But there will be time enough for that, when we begin to know, what help it is likely to bring, or has already brought to the Republic. For we have heard nothing of you hitherto, but attempts onely: those indeed are great and noble; but we long to hear of some action: which, I persuade myself, is already either over, or near at hand [1]."

Our Critic indeed refers us to another letter of the true Cicero, wherein it is said, *that they had heard nothing at all, either where Cassius was, or what forces he had [2].* Whence he infers, that Cicero had received no information at all about Cassius at that time. But this letter was written in March, immediately after Cicero had spoken his *xith Philippic*, of which he gives Cassius an account in it: which was *three weeks*, before any news about Cassius was received at Rome, either from Brutus, or any body else. So that this testimony has not the least relation to his argument: and can serve no other end, but to perplex and mislead the reader.

He shews more contradictions still, in the case of C. Antonius, M. Antony's brother, who was Brutus's prisoner in Macedonia; and says, *that Cicero did not know, that he was taken prisoner by Brutus, till Panfa had left Rome; which he quitted in the end of March, as I readily allow; but then he affirms, what he cannot prove, that Cicero and Brutus are supposed in these letters to have written several times to each other about him, while Panfa continued in Rome [3].* But Brutus, as I have observed

[1] Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

nec quas copias haberet. Tunst. p. 224.

[2] Ibid. Ep. 7. Verus igitur Cicero nihil dum audierat, nec ubi Cassius esset,

[3] Brutus tamen noster, quod jam pridem fecerat, Ciceronem deinceps de capto An-

elsewhere, sent *two public letters*, at different times, to the Senate, concerning his affairs in *Macedonia* [1]. The first of them arrived, while *Pansa was in Rome*; and signified, that he had secured the greatest part of that province and the troops in it, to the interests of the Republic; and that *C. Antonius was retired into Apollonia, with seven cohorts*, where he hoped soon to give a good account of him [2]. The second arrived shortly after; yet not till *Pansa had left Rome*, and brought word, *that Brutus had now reduced the whole province, and taken Antonius himself prisoner* [3]: and this distinction of *the two expresses*, which our Critic is loth to acknowledge [4], though the nature of the thing shews, that there must have been *two*, will dissipate at once his imaginary contradiction.

But with regard to this *Antonius*, he finds a *wondrous inconsistency* in the letters themselves [5]. For in one of them, *Cicero* says, “ *that no enemies were ever more worthy of the last punishment, than those Citizens, who had taken up arms against their country in this war—and that the Senate had adjudged all to be enemies, who followed the party of M. Antony* [6].” And in another, “ *that there was no difference between Dolabella, and any one of the three An-* “ *tony's* [7].” Yet he declares at the same time, “ *that, when*

tonio consuluit; Ciceroque de eodem consilia dedit, dum *Pansa* Consul adhuc Romæ erat. Tunst. in Notis ad p. 227.

[1] See Life of Cicer, vol. 2. p. 400.

[2] Philip. 10. 4, 5, &c.

[3] Erat expectatio reliquiarum *Antonii*—ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem—Nam tuæ litteræ, quæ recitatæ sunt in Senatu & Imperatoris consilium—declarent. Quod—nisi in turbulentissimum tempus post discessum *Pansæ* Consulis incidissent—&c. Ad Brut. l. 2. Ep. 7.

[4] Quæ de litteris *Bruti* secundis narrantur, mihi merito suspecta sunt. Tunst. p. 226. Not. n.

[5] De hoc autem C. Antonio multa alia *Cicero Brutusque* interloquuntur—antea vero miram sane ἀντιλογίαν. ib. 227.

[6] Hostes autem omnes judicati, qui M. Antonii sectam secutis sunt. Ad Brut. Ep. 9.

[7] Quid interest infer *Dolabellam*, & quemvis *Antoniorum trium*, &c. ib. Ep. 5.

“ he

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“ he was speaking to the Senate, upon *C. Antonius* by name,
 “ he moved for nothing particularly severe upon him, because
 “ he had resolved to reserve that, till the Senate had received
 “ their information of his case from *Brutus* [1].”

Now in this *wondrous contradiction*, as it is stated by our Critic, I can discover nothing but what is perfectly consistent: *Cicero* constantly pressed *Brutus*, to consider his prisoner *Antonius*, as an enemy; whom *Brutus*, contrary to *Cicero's* advice, continued to treat with great respect and tenderness. But though *Cicero* urged this in his private letters, yet in the Senate, out of regard to *Brutus*, he was content with *Antonius's* being included in the general vote against all the adherents of that party, and would not move for any particular or personal censure upon him; till the Senate, according to custom, had received their information of his case, from *Brutus*, the General, whose prisoner he was.

He has thrown together several other passages, relating to this same *Antonius*, as seeming to be inconsistent with each other: which are all so trifling and captious, that I need not trouble myself with the recital of them. But he closes this argument with an observation, which he declares to be *most important* [2]: that after all, which is said in these Epistles, about the case of *C. Antonius*, between *Brutus* consulting *Cicero* upon it, and *Cicero* giving advice; and *Brutus* again rejecting that advice; yet it appears extremely probable, that *Plutarch* had not seen any such letters [3]; because he gives this summary account of the whole matter; “ that *Brutus* for a long time treated *C. Antonius*

[1] *Ib.* Ep. 9.

[2] *Quod autem maximum est, &c.*
Tunst. p. 229.

[3] *Plutarchus* tamen harum Epistolarum vidisse nullam, perquam verisimile est. *Tunst.* p. 229.

“ with great respect, though many of his friends, as it is said, “ and particularly *Cicero*, were writing and urging him from “ *Rome*, to put him to death [1].” I shall not dispute with him, *whether Plutarch had seen the letters or not*; being very sure, that he had very little curiosity, about seeing any of *Cicero’s* *genuin letters*; but this I will venture to say, that if he had not seen, he had heard of them at least, and manifestly refers to them in this very passage; which is as full an account of the affair of *Antonius*, as *Plutarch* is apt to give of affairs of much greater importance.

He observes in the next place, that in the case of *Lepidus*, *these letters are plainly prophetic, and speak of facts, long before they happened* [2]: for in the third of them to *Brutus*, *Cicero* says; “ from the letters of your own people, you are convinced, “ I guess by this time, of the levity, inconstancy, and “ perpetual disaffection of your friend *Lepidus*, who next “ to his own Brother, hates you his near relations the “ most.” This passage he supposes to have been borrowed by the Sophist, from a letter of *the true Cicero* to *Cassius*, which begins thus; “ You are informed, I guess, from the “ public acts, of the treachery of your kinsman *Lepidus*, and “ his surprizing levity and inconstancy [3].” Where *the Sophist was very blind*, he says, not to see, that the letter of *the true Cicero*, which refers to *Lepidus’s* union with *Antony*, was written after the battel of *Modena*; whereas the censure upon *Lepidus*, in this suspected one, was written before that battel [4]: and so far indeed I agree, that *the times or dates* of the two letters

[1] Plut. in Brut. 996.

[3] Ep. Fam. 12. 8.

[2] De Lepido nostro plane divinus est.
Tunst. p. 229.

[4] Sed tamen ille aliter valde cavetiv.
quod non animadvertit, &c. Tunst. 229.

are quite different; but there is a good reason for it; because *the facts*, to which they allude, are different too; and *the blindness* must not be charged to *the Sophist*, but to the Critic, whose Hypothesis would not suffer him to see any fact but *one*, of which *Lepidus* could be guilty. For he affirms, *that before the battel of Modena, it was not possible for Brutus to know any thing of Lepidus's inconstancy, from the accounts of his friends* [1]: which though boldly affirmed, is utterly false. For before that battel, two of *Lepidus's* Lieutenants, *Silanus* and *Culleo*, marched with a detachment of *Lepidus's* troops to *Antony's* assistance; which as all people then imagined, was done by *Lepidus's* order, but most certainly by his connivence [2]. This then is the fact to which this letter refers: and which, after *Antony's* defeat, *Lepidus* himself endeavours to excuse to *Cicero*, in an humble strain; disclaiming the act of his Lieutenants, and declaring it *to have been done against his will* [3]. But before the time of his union with *Antony*, which our Critic takes to be *the first, and onely instance of his inconstancy*, *D. Brutus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, calls him a man *as light and variable as the wind, and who was never disposed to do any thing, that was right* [4]: which implies many former instances of an inconstant and perfidious temper; agreeably to the character given of him in these letters, where *Cicero* speaking of *his union with Antony*, says, *that they had experienced many instances of his levity before, but not any, that was likely to be so pernicious* [5].

[1] Tunst. 230.

[2] Dio. l. 46. p. 316.

[3] *Silanus & Culleo* ab eo discesserunt. Nos etſi graviter ab his læſi eramus, quod contra noſtram voluntatem ad *Antonium* ierant, &c. Epist. Fam. l. 10. 34.

[4] In primis rogo te, ad hominem

ventosissimum, *Lepidum* mittas.—Sed mihi persuasissimum est, *Lepidum* rectè facturum nunquam. Epist. Fam. l. 11. 9.

[5] Datumque *Lepido* tempus est, in quo levitatem ejus, sæpe perspectam, majoribus in malis experiremur. Epist. 18.

As to the letter of condolence, from Cicero to Brutus, the 16th of this collection; he allows it, whether forged or genuin, to relate, as I have applied it, to the death of *Porcia*, Brutus's wife [1]. But the author of it, he says, not having the confidence, openly to assert a fact, so contrary to history, contrived artfully to conceal both the name and the sex of the person, whose loss he was condoling. But this very circumstance is so far from suggesting the suspicion of a forgery, that it suggests just the contrary: for it is not credible, that a Sophist, who had taken the bold resolution to contradict all history, should be so bashfull at the same time, as to involve what he had to say in such obscurity, that no body should be able to understand it: whereas, on the other hand, it is natural to imagine, that Cicero, writing upon the death of a beloved wife, should chuse out of good manners, and a regard to Brutus's tenderness, to avoid the mention of her name, or to dwell upon her personal qualities: which is the probable source of the difficulty, that the learned have found, in determining the real subject of the letter.

He adds a remark, as a farther proof of the Sophist's craft; how he had taken care before hand, to drop a small hint of *Porcia's illness*, that we might not be surprized to hear of her death [2]. This was cunningly done indeed, to make us believe, that she happened to be sick, before she died. Yet after filling a page or two more, with observations of the same sort, he declares the letter itself to be a poor, jejune composition, which could not possibly be Cicero's; because Cicero, on such an occasion, would have collected examples of similar losses from all history,

[1] De *Porcia*—scriptam fuisse tecum letudine *Porciæ* spargentem induxit. Tunst. omnino judico, &c. Tunst. 231. 231. See Lett. 15th.

[2] Pro suo artificio—*Brutum* de va-

as he had done before, in his treatise on *Consolation*, written upon the death of his daughter: where, as he proves by an heap of testimonies, *Cicero* had drawn together all the cases of the same kind, that either *the Greek or Roman history* furnished [1]. But he might have spared his learned pains; for if he had reflected on the circumstances, in which *Brutus* then was; at the head of the most important and critical affairs, in which a mortal could be engaged, and on which the fate of *Rome* depended; he must have thought, that the less, which was said on so tender and dejecting a subject, must needs be the better; and that this letter, as short and slight as it appears, was more agreeable to the prudence of *Cicero*, and the situation of *Brutus*, than the most studied composition on the same argument could possibly be.

He goes on to produce more contradictions from two other letters, relating to *Vetus Antistius*. The first was written by *Brutus*, and brought to *Rome* by *Vetus*, at a time when *Brutus* supposed the Consuls to be living [2]: but here lies the contradiction, that though the matter of the letter implies it to have been written, *while the Consuls were alive*, yet it is signified in the beginning of it, that the writer had heard of *the battel of Modena*, and consequently of *their death* [3]. It is very strange, that a cunning Sophist should be so forgetfull of himself in a short letter, as to contradict in one line, what he affirms in another: but this reflection does not stop our Critic; who, when it serves his purpose, can find a contradiction wherever he pleases: the words in which he finds it are these; “*Vetus Antistius* is so well affected to the Republic, that I cannot

[1] Tunst. p. 236. in Notis.

[2] See Lett. 6th.

[3] Sed *Brutus*, eum illam epistolam

scripsit, se *Mutinenfis* prælii nuncium accepisse, ipse in initio epistolæ declarat.

Tunst. 238.

"doubt, but that if he had met with an occasion, he would have shewn himself a strenuous assertor of our common liberty, both against *Cæsar* and *Antony* [1]." Now according to his comment, the occasion, which *Vetus* had never met with, of acting against *Antony*, was nothing else but the *battel of Modena*, in which the two *Consuls* were killed [2]. But what man living, besides himself, can discover any such sense in them? The meaning of them is evidently this; that if *Vetus* had been at *Rome*, while he resided in the Provinces, he would have joined with the friends of liberty, in declaring and acting both against *Cæsar* and *Antony*: and there were occasions enough of doing that, long before the *battel of Modena*. *Cicero* began to act openly against *Antony* in *November*: *Octavius* had done it before: *Hirtius* led out an army against him in *January*; and every body was declaring and acting on the one side or the other. But no occasion could be of use to our Critic, except the *battel of Modena*; and unless that *battel* be referred to in those words, his pretended contradiction falls to the ground; where it will be his wisest part, I believe, to let it lie.

Vetus then, for any thing that appears to the contrary, might come to *Rome* at any time while the *Consuls* were living; or before he knew at least of their death. But he came, as the letter informs us, to sue for the *Prætorship*; and if the *Consuls* should not hold that election in due time, had promised *Brutus* to return to him directly; yet from the letter, which *Cicero* sent back by him to *Brutus*, [3], we find, that he staid to the beginning of *July*: all which may easily be accounted for, by supposing onely, that a person of *Vetus's* rank, who had govern-

[1] See *Epist.* 6.

prælium ipsum *Mutinese* erat. ib. 239.

[2] Jam illa occasio, cui *Antistium* occurrere non potuisse, *Brutus* cognoverat,

[3] See *Lett.* 17th.

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ed a Province, and been long absent from *Rome*, might find more business there at his return, than he expected, or enough at least, to detain him for three or four months. But there is an obvious reason for his stay, suggested by the circumstances of the times, as well as by *Cicero's* genuine letters; namely, the difficulty of making an election of Prætors, occasioned by the unexpected death of the Consuls; since no other Magistrate could regularly call an assembly of the People for that Purpose: yet in that exigency and time of confusion, the Prætors seemed to have taken a resolution to exercise that prerogative, till *Cicero*, by his personal authority, got the election postponed to the *January* following; when *D. Brutus* and *Plancus* were to enter upon the Consulship, from whose administration he expected the establishment of their liberty and ancient constitution [1].

As to what is objected, concerning the *elections into the Priesthoods and the Prætorships* [2], since it appears to have nothing solid in it, I shall spare myself the trouble of repeating it. The sum of it amounts only to this; that our Critic does not know how to reconcile it to the customs and constitution of *Rome*; and that *Manutius* also is puzzled, how to solve it: all which may safely be granted, without any discredit to the letters themselves: for supposing them even to be forged, I can easily imagine the author of them to have been more perfectly acquainted with the constitution of the Republic, than any modern Critic, who has since attempted to explain them. But if any difficulty should occur to the reader on this article, he will find, I hope, a satisfactory account of it in the notes [3].

[1] Vid. Ep. Fam. 10, 25, 26.

[2] *unf. Epist. p. 241. &c.*

[3] See Lett. 10th Note [10], and Lett. 20th, Note [3].

He concludes his observations about *the Priesthoods*, with this acute reflection, that the Sophist, having understood from history, that young Cicero was made a Priest by Augustus, took occasion to form a letter or two upon that subject, and to feign Cicero himself greatly solicitous to procure that honor for his son [1]. But were not all the Roman Nobles just as solicitous, as Cicero is said to be here, to get *their Sons elected Priests*? If there was no such practice in Rome, that might be a reasonable objection to these letters, which make so much mention of it: but if all the Nobles, at all times, really acted, as Cicero is supposed to act on this occasion, what room is there for any scruple, or refinement in the case? But this is his constant method of criticising; if he sees any thing in the letters, which he knows not how to reconcile to *history*, or to *the true Cicero*, or to *the customs of Rome*, he condemns them presently as spurious; if he finds them to agree exactly with them all, he then alarms us, with *the scholastic arts*, *the minute diligence*, and *the subtle imitation of the Sophist* [2].

He proceeds to observe, that from *the number of auguries* in these letters, or *presages of things*, which really happened, it is reasonable to conclude, that *the events did not follow the predictions*, but that *the predictions were forged afterwards upon the events* [3]: and this he frequently insinuates in different parts of his work [4]. For it never seems to enter into his head, that Cicero could know any thing more of affairs than he, or be able to foretell, what he should never have dreamt of. But whatever he may think

[1] Non sine causa videor suspicari, minime Ciceroniana. ib. 245. Imitatione nostrum — ὑπόθεσιν scribendi sumpsisse vestigia magis manifesta sunt. ib. 220. ex eo, quod illum postea a D. Augusto Not. &c.
Sacerdotem factum esse ex historia com- [3] Tunst. p. 245, 250. &c.
perisset. Tunst. 245.

[2] Περιεργασία etiam scholastica in illis [4] Hic rerum multo post futurarum προβλήσις est. [ib. p. 226.] sequitur aliud Bruti vaticinium. ib.

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of *Cicero*, an esteemed writer of *Cicero's* own times, who lived with him, and after him, has left us this testimony with regard to the point in question; *the presages of his letters*; "that his wisdom might be looked upon as a kind of divination; since he foretold things in futurity, not such onely, as happened whilst he himself was still living, but declared as a Prophet, what came even into common use and practice after his death [1]." Thus what those ancients, who knew *Cicero* personally, have delivered as the distinguishing character of his letters, our ingenious Critic considers every where, as the very proof and criterion of their forgery.

But what after all are *these frequent auguries*, which give him so much offence? Why, after the battel of *Modena*, and the death of the two Consuls, *Cicero* begins to apprehend, that *Octavius*, who by that accident was become the master of all the veteran forces in *Italy*, *would not be governed by him so easily as he had hitherto been*: and *Brutus* also on his part, before he had heard of *Octavius's* design upon the Consulship, expresses his fears, *lest he should take a resolution to seize upon it* [1]: apprehensions so obvious and natural, that they could hardly fail of being entertained, in some degree or other, by all men of sense. But observe the strange perverseness of our Critic. He had been contending at setting out, that *Octavius*, even before *Brutus's* departure out of *Italy*, and while he had little or no power to do either good or harm, had given *the strongest reasons to apprehend every thing bad of him*; yet now at last, when *Octavius*

[3] Ut facile existimari possit, prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim *Cicero* ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att. c. 16.

[2] Tunst. p. 213, 248, &c.

had got all power into his hands, he contends, that he had not given the least ground to suspect, *that he would make an ill use of it.*

To this article of predictions, *he will add*, he says, *one prediction more, but that indeed a manifold one, delivered with singular confidence*, in the following words; “as to myself, I can say, what *Plautus’s* old man says in *the Trinummus*; life is almost over with me; it is you, who are the most interested in it. You will be undone, *Brutus*, believe me, if you do not take great care. For you will neither have the people always the same as now; nor the Senate; nor a leader of the Senate. Take this as delivered to you from *the Pythian Oracle*; nothing can be more true [1].”

Upon this passage, he cavils, in the first place, at something, I know not what, in the expression, as not being *Ciceronian*, but betraying *a sophistical diligence* [2]: he discovers likewise a prediction, which *Cicero here makes, of his own death* [3]. Then as to what is declared, of the probability of danger to *Brutus*, and of a turn of affairs at *Rome*, he takes great pains to prove, that it could not be foretold at this time by *the true Cicero*, but was forged afterwards by the Sophist from the event. The strongest argument, that he alledges for it, is this; “that the letter, in which *this Oracle* is delivered, was most certainly written before the news of the victory at *Modena* arrived at *Rome*; at which time *the true Cicero* could have no ground for such a presage, since the whole people and the Senate, with *Cicero* himself at their head, were wonderfully una-

[1] Tunst. p. 245. — See Lett. 14.

[2] Hic notanda diligentia minime Ciceroniana. ib. 245.

[3] Rurfus Cicero suam mortem providit

—mibi quidem atas ferre alia est. Tunst. 232. in Notis.

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“ nimous in the defence of their common liberty [1].” But in answer to this, it happens, that this letter, contrary to what our Critic affirms, was written *after the victory at Modena had been known for some time at Rome*, as the contents of it expressly demonstrate: and the date of it therefore, on which he wholly depends, ought to be reduced, as I have shewn above, to a conformity with the contents.

But at what time soever the letter was written, it is certain, that there is nothing either strange, or improbable, in any part of the prediction. As long indeed as *Cicero* continued the leader of the Senate, and the favorite of the people, things were sure to go well in the City; but whenever any accident should happen to him, a reverse was certainly to be apprehended: and even whilst he lived, the populace, always fickle, might possibly be gained by artifice or bribes to turn against him: and in the Senate itself, where he had the ascendant, it was with no small struggle, as it appears from his *Philippics*, that he was able to maintain it, against the Chiefs of the opposite faction: and we find from his genuine letters, what he declares in these suspected ones, that even *after the battel of Modena*, and in the midst of their joy for that victory, he found *more malevolence than gratitude*, in a great part of that body [2]. All this, I say, is declared by *the true Cicero*, while their affairs seemed to be in a prosperous state; yet our Critic thinks it incredible, that he could foresee the possibility of a change in them. But I am ashamed to detain the reader on such trifles; of which I may

[1] Imprimis hoc oraculum tum esse, cum pugna Mutinensis jam esset commissa, nec tamen ejus rei fama ad Romam usque pervenisset, certissimum est. Hoc autem tempore ipso, *Cicero* noster domi populum, Senatum, Senati duces, civitatem denique

totam in libertate communi defendenda admirabiliter consentientem videbat. ib. 247. See Lett. 14.

[2] Ep. Fam. 10. 12. 11. 14. ad Brut. 21.

say with much truth, what he has not scrupled to declare of these letters, that they are the fruits of *scholastic futility*, and betray a total ignorance of *affairs and real life* [1].

He has offered two objections more to the general character of these letters, which I have not yet touched upon, first, that *they want the beauty and copiousness of the Ciceronian style* [2]; secondly, *that they are all drawn in the same style and manner of writing*, as coming evidently from the same hand [3].

As to the first, it is so contemptibly supported, that it is hardly worth while to take notice of it. He has collected several passages, which he declares to be *futile, improper, too confused and hard in the syntax*, to be received as *Cicero's* [4]: and he observes, that the *true Cicero*, if he had begun a sentence with *cave existimes*, would have resumed it after a *parenthesis*, with the same phrase; and not as this Sophist, with *cave putes* [5]: and that he would have used the præposition, *per*, where the Sophist has used, *propter* [6]; with other criticisms of the same kind, which cannot be a proper subject of dispute, except with those, who profess to be perfect masters not onely of *Cicero's* writings, but of the whole extent of the Latin tongue; which no modest man will easily pretend to. Such cavils as these might be formed, I dare say, from every

[1] Ut ex *περιεργασίᾳ* potius & meditatione scholastica, quam ex negotiis ipsis, viteque veræ actione natæ esse viderentur. Tunst. 193.

[2] In illis orationis *Ciceronianæ* candorem copiamque statim desiderabam—ibid.

[3] Tum eodem genere & colore descriptas esse clare perspexisse videbar. ibid.

[4] Hæc autem sunt & dispositione

perturbatiora, & *συνιάξεις* duriora, quam ut credantur esse *Ciceronis*. [Tunst. 220. in Notis.] Et sane in his Epistolis multa duræ & sæculentæ orationis exempla occurrunt. [ib. 221. Not.] Hæc item duriuscula sunt. [ib. 222. Not.] Hæc omnino futilia. ib.

[5] Ibid. p. 204.

[6] Ib. p. 234.

page of *Cicero's* genuin Epistles. In the last of them to his Brother, which immediately precedes this very collection, casting my eye upon the end of it, I observed the following sentence ; *sed sumus unà tamen valde multum* : which consists onely of six words, and yet five of them *adverbs*. Now might we not declame here with our Critic, upon *the poverty and futility of the diction* ; that it *wants the beauty and copia of the Ciceronian stile* ; and *cannot possibly be rectified as Cicero's* ? Yet *Cicero* himself tells us, that in *familiar Epistles*, he was not at all scrupulous about the choice of words, but took the first that occurred from *vulgar use* [1].

But in truth, all arguments drawn from *stile*, are of too loose and precarious a nature, to have any great weight in questions of this sort ; there being no settled rule or criterion, to which we can apply them, but the different tast and judgement of different men. Our Critic denies these letters to be *Ciceronian* ; and others perhaps may do the same ; yet the generality of the learned have always been of a contrary mind ; and *Manutius* used to admire the peculiar dignity, or *majesty*, as he called it, of *stile in them* [2]. For my own part, I take *Cicero's* hand to be so clearly discernible in them, as to think it hardly possible, that they could have been written by any body else ; and if the expression, in any of them appears to be somewhat different from that of his other Epistles, it is no more, than what may be charged to a difference of the subject ; which is generally more urgent and warming

[1] Veruntamen, quid tibi ego in *Epistolis* videor? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum?—*Epistolas* vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. Fam. l. 9. 21.

[2] *P. Manutius*, in familiaribus sermonibus, sæpe solet earum epistolarum *majestatem* prædicare. Andr. Patr. Schol. in Fragm. Epist. ad Brut. p. 5, 6,

in these, than in any of the familiar kind. The most effectual way of attacking them on the article of style, is to produce some phrases, of a *later origin and use*, than the age of *Cicero*: and if, as our Critic contends, they had been forged after the time of *Plutarch*, we should certainly find some instances of that sort in them; on account of the remarkable change, which the Latin tongue had undergone in that interval; in which many new words were introduced, unknown to the *Ciceronian* age; and the whole turn and fashion of writing quite altered; as every one may readily observe, in all the best writers of the intermediate ages, between *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

As to the second objection, of *an identity of style in them all*, it depends upon the bare word, and authority of our Critic. But though it could not be thought strange, if in a series of letters, between two great men of the same age and City, some similitude of expression or sentiment should happen to be found; yet in these every man must necessarily discern as great a difference, as can possibly be expected, from the different characters of the two writers [1]. In *Brutus's*, we see an impatient, querulous, dogmatic manner; agreeable to the fierceness and haughtiness of his nature: in *Cicero's*; all the calmness, prudence and management of *Brutus's* temper, that we should expect from an experienced Statesman, all whose views were bent, in that crisis of their affairs, on the preservation of his country: and it is this different spirit, so agreeable to the characters of the men, which makes the letters themselves so much admired by all, who read them with any judgement or attention.

[2] See *Life of Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 487.

Yet what is the most remarkable, our Critic, while he insists upon *this identity of style*, and even argues from it as an allowed fact [1]; has himself affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, the *greatest difference* between the letters, that can be imagined, between any of the most different writers. He calls *Brutus's epistle to Atticus, really a fine one* [2]; and as for the other to *Cicero*; he gives it all the praise, that can be given to a letter, and declares it to be *justly admired by all, who have any taste of fine writing, or any sparks of liberty in them* [3]. Yet on the other hand, he declares *Cicero's answer to Brutus*, or apology for himself, to betray the *operose diligence and wretched craft of the Sophist*; to be *insipid, blundering, foolish; full of obscurity, impropriety, and impertinence* [4]. What is become then of *his pretended identity of style, and coloring* in all the letters; when he himself ascribes to *Brutus's*, all the beauties, and to *Cicero's*, all the faults, that can possibly be found in any compositions of that sort?—nor is this less contradictory to another reflection, which he insinuates with equal judgement in different parts of his work, that the Sophist's view in these letters, was to *vindicate Cicero's conduct and character*: since he affirms the only two letters, which accuse him, to be finest and the strongest; and *Cicero's defence* of himself, to be the most trifling and contemptible in the whole collection.

But, as I have intimated above, the matter of these letters seems to be a stronger evidence for their authority, than their

[1] Quod quidem latius etiam patere videtur, atque effrere, ut genus etiam utriusque epistolare, *unum & prope Germanum, quod in hoc epistolarum volumine deprecanditur*, nequaquam esse potuerit. Tunst. 205.

[2] *Iltam ad Atticum, sane bellulam.*

ib. 200.

[3] Neque quidem mirum est, eam in omnibus iis, qui vel de scriptis recte judicare possunt, vel ullos libertatis igniculos habeant, incredibilem excitasse admirationem sui. Tunst. 203.

[4] Ibid. p. 204, ad 215—

stile. * For it consists of a great variety of facts, and several of them not touched upon by any other writer; which could be known onely to those, who were intimately acquainted both with the constitution of *Rome*, and the affairs of those times; and are generally of such a nature, as no Sophist would chuse for the subject of his forgery, or venture to deal in so freely, for fear of betraying himself; unless we suppose him so perfect a master of all history, as to be assured, that it could furnish nothing to detect him.

The very first letter for instance, which is cited by *Nonius Marcellus*, (a circumstance sufficient of itself to evince it's authority) is natural and probable, supposing it to be real, but quite otherwise, on the supposition of it's forgery. For why should a Sophist pitch upon a *Clodius*, for one of *Cicero's* intimate friends; a name particularly hostile to *Cicero*? Why should he feign him a *Tribun elect*, when the *Clodii* were generally *Patricians*: and incapable of the *Tribunate*? Why should he give him a title, that carries with it an historical mark, that might possibly detect him; since it fixes the date of the letter to some time between the death of *Cæsar* and the 10th of *December*; on which day the *Tribuns elect* entered into Office? Why should he imagin him to have been obliged to *Antony*, as well as to *Brutus*, and on that account suspected in his allegiance to the Republic? Yet all this, I say, is natural for the true *Cicero* to write: for though the *Clodii* were generally in opposition to *Cicero*, yet in so numerous a family, there were some still without doubt, who were his particular friends; some also, who must have been *Plebeians*, either by adoption or descent from the freedmen of the *Patrician* branch, who had recommended themselves gradually to the honors of the state: and the time of this letter was the very season of people's taking their

their party, either for *Antony*, or *Brutus*: and in the case of a Tribune, *Cicero* would necessarily be sollicitous to secure him to the Republic, and prevent any coldness between him and *Brutus*, that might alienate so powerfull a magistrate. But on the other hand, to suppose a Sophist sitting down, with so much thought and contrivance, to dress up a mere dry fact, void of all entertainment to the reader, is an hypothesis too forced and improbable, to be embraced by men of sense, without solid reasons to support it.

As for *the Epistle*, as it is called, to *Octavius*, which is annexed to these letters in all the editions, our Critic, from an imaginary similitude of stile, pronounces it to be of *the same stamp*, and to come from *the same hand* with the rest [1]. Yet, as far as I am able to judge, any one, with a moderate use of the Latin tongue, would discover a manifest difference on the first reading. He himself allows the Epistles, which I am vindicating, to be *elegant and shining both in diction and sentiment*; declares some of them, as we have seen above, to be *fine compositions*, and justly admired by all, *who have any taste of polite writing or any Sparks of liberty in them* [2]. But in this pretended Epistle, he would be puzzled to find a single sentiment, or a single word, I may say, that shines. It is a stiff and forced performance; void of all beauty either of stile or sense; ever flat and spiritless, where it labors the most to move: in short, it is no Epistle, but the declamation of some boy, venting his indignation, and trying under the person of *Cicero*, how well he could harangue on the perfidy and ingratitude of

[1] In Epistola ad *Octavianum*, quæ propter multa similitudinis vestigia ab eadem manu profecta esse videtur. Tunst. p.

221. Not. Epistola ad *Octavianum*, quæ τῇ αὐτῇ κόμμῳ est. ib. 232. Not.

[2] Ib. p. 193. 200, 203, 251.

Octavius : but whatever similitude our Critic may pretend to find between this and the other Epistles, yet time, the surest judge and discerner of true and false, has made a most substantial difference between them, by rejecting the one and retaining the other : for there is not perhaps a single person now living, who takes the one to be genuine ; and very few, I believe, besides our Critic, who hold the other to be forged. *Victorius* indeed, as our Critic takes notice, entertained a more favorable opinion of this piece [1] ; and *thought it not very different either in expression or sentiment from Cicero's genuine manner* : which serves only to confirm, what I have already observed, concerning the precarious nature of arguments drawn from style ; since so learned and eminent a Critic was so easily deceived by it. I have added this piece however to the present collection, lest it should be thought the less perfect, for wanting any thing how contemptible soever, that is found in all the former editions.

I have now examined all our Critic's objections, which I took to have any weight in them, in the order in which he has ranged them ; nor have willfully omitted any ; but what are either too trifling to deserve any notice ; or are considered by me in the notes on the particular passages objected to. But our Critic himself will hardly accuse me, of neglecting any of his capital arguments ; or such, as he had reason to lay any stress upon : and a great part of the rest, which arise from corrupt dates, and the confusion, in which the Epistles have hitherto lain, will be dissipated at once by the very disposition and order to which I have reduced them. On the whole, the reader must needs be surprized, to see so bold an attempt so weakly supported ; and scarce a single objection produced, but

[1] Tunst. 251.

what is grounded either on mistake, or misapplication of the testimonies alledged to confirm it. How far any other Critic may venture hereafter upon the same attempt, and with what better success, I will not take upon me to determine ; but this I may safely affirm, that the glory of atchieving it can never be reserved, after so many ages, to an adventurer, in the noviciate of his Criticism, and the very first essay of his skill.

As to the other part of his Latin Epistle, every one will easily guess from this sketch of his critical talents, what the merit of it must be. It is all of a piece ; exactly agreeable to the specimen here given. For I have not singled out this part, as the most obnoxious, or most liable to be confuted ; but as the only one, in which men of letters and curiosity could be interested. The rest was written by him as he professes, with a view of raising some reputation to himself, by exposing the faults of a work which has been received with approbation by the public [1] ; and in pursuance of that design, he has employed it chiefly in contesting the time and order of certain minute facts delivered in *the Life of Cicero* ; which, whether true or false, are of little or no moment, either to the general truth of the history, or the credit of the work : and it cannot therefore be of any use or entertainment to the public, to be informed, whether he or I have blundered the most about them. Yet if I should ever be invited by a proper occasion, to enter upon that task, I could shew his whole performance, as easily as I have shewn this part of it, to be a frivolous, captious, dissingenuous piece of criticism ; full of more real mistakes with-

[1] Commendatus inde institutum illud nostrum fore arbitrabar, si per earum Epistolarum scripturam depravatam, rerumque etiam ipsarum obscuritatem, Te vel

minus recta quædam pro certis venditasse, vel recta nonnunquam perperam intellexisse constaret. Vid. Tunst. Epist. p. 1.

in the compass of a little volume, than he pretends even to have found in the large work, which he has thought fit to criticise.

But to return once more to the Epistles. It may be proper, before I commit them to the reader, to put him in mind of an observation, which will enable him to judge the more clearly of this question, of their authority. They were all, excepting the first, written within the compass of four months; from the beginning of *April*, to the end of *July*; and make frequent mention or reference to four principal facts; the times of which being known from *Cicero's* genuine Epistles, may serve as so many *æra's* towards settling the dates of the particular letters. The first of those facts is, the Consul *Pansu's* march out of *Rome*, at the head of his army, to join his Collegue, *Hirtius*, near *Modena*; on which he set forward before the 30th of *March* [1]. The second is, the battle of *Modena*, which happened on the 15th of *April* [2]. The third is, the union of *Lepidus* with *Antony*, on the 29th of *May* [3]. The fourth, the vote of the *Senate*, condemning *Lepidus* as an enemy, on the 30th of *June* [4]. Now if there be any mention of these facts in the following letters, which cannot be reconciled with their known dates, it must be allowed to be a strong argument in favor of our Critic's hypothesis; but if nothing of that kind can be found in them, it is a great confirmation, on the other hand, of their genuine authority.

To conclude; since these letters have never yet been reduced to their proper order by any of the Editors, but published generally, as they happened to be thrown together by the first collectors of them, from imperfect and mutilated copies; I have endeavoured to dispose them in the very order, in which

[1] Ep. Fam. 10. 10. [2] Ib. 30. [3] 23. 4 Ib. l. 12. 10.

they were written ; as far as it can be collected from the matter of the Epistles themselves : which will clear them from many of the difficulties, and imaginary contradictions, with which they have been charged. As to *the Latin text* ; I have formed it from a collation of the principal Editions, and the various readings collected by the several Editors, especially by *Victorius*, *Manutius* and *Lambinus*. I have varied indeed in some places both from the printed and MS. copies ; but those variations are rare, and of little moment as to the sense ; yet such as the syntax seemed manifestly to require. In my *English version*, I have pursued the maxim, which I laid down in the *Life of Cicero*, of attending in the first place to the sentiment, and in the next, adhering to the letter, as closely as the genius of our tongue would allow me to express it in an easy and familiar manner ; such as *Cicero* himself recommends for the stile of an Epistle. How far I have succeeded in either case ; in giving *Cicero's* genuine words, or in rendering his genuine sense ; I readily submit to the judgement of the reader.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

THE

AD

EPISTLES

M. BRUTUM, & BRUTI

OF

AD

M. T. CICERO to M. BRUTUS,

CICERONEM

AND OF

EPISTOLÆ BRUTUS to CICERO.

EPISTOLA I.

EPIST. I.

CICERO BRUTO, S. D.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

L. Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit; vel, ut ἐμφοχτικώτερον dicam, valde me amat: quod

L. Clodius [1], *Tribun of the people elect* [2], *has a very great affection, or to speak more emphatically, a very great love for* cum

X x 2

[1] **N**onius Marcellus, in observing the difference here made, between the Verbs, *amare* and *diligere*, cites this Letter, as from the *first book of Cicero's Epistles to Brutus*. [De different. nonnullar. diction. c. 5.] It was written therefore probably about the month of November, near to the expiration of *M. Antony's* Consulship, and after he had quitted the City, when people began to have a clear view of his designs, by his hostilities in the *Cisalpine Gaul*.

It does not appear from any of *Cicero's* Letters, who this *Clodius* was; or of what branch of the *Clodian* family. He must have been a Plebeian, on the account of his being a Tribune. All the editions of these Letters call him *Lucius*; but *Pighius*, in his Annals, takes him to be that *Caius Clodius*, mentioned by *Dio*; [l. 47. p. 340.] one of *Brutus's* Lieutenants, and particular confidants in *Macedonia*; who was entrusted by him with the custody of *C. Antonius*, of whom much will be said in the following Letters: and if that conjecture be true, then *Cicero's* recommendation of him, so warmly expressed in this Letter, had the desired effect, of wiping out all suspicions, that *Brutus* might have conceived of him.

[2] His title, of *Tribun elect*, was not derived, according to the ancient usage, from the

X x 2

the

cùm mihi ita persuasum sit, non dubito (bene enim me nosti) quin illum quoque judices à me amari. Nihil enim mihi minùs hominis videtur, quàm non respondere in amore iis, à quibus provocare. Is mihi vifus est suspicari, nec sine magno quidem dolore, aliquid à suis, vel per suos potiùs iniquos ad te esse delatum, quo tuus animus à se effret alienior. Non foleo, mi Brute, (quod tibi notum esse arbitror) temere affirmare de altero ; est enim periculosum, propter occultas hominum voluntates, multipli-

me [3]. *As I am fully persuaded of this, so I do not doubt, but that you, who thoroughly know me, will believe, that I have the same love also for him. For nothing in my opinion is less worthy of a man, than to be behind hand in good offices with those, who invite you to their friendship. He seems to suspect, and not without great concern, that something has been written, or insinuated to you rather in person, by his enemies [4], which has made an impression on you to his disadvantage. It is not usual with me, my Brutus, as you, I imagine, well know, to affirm any thing too hastily of another. The thing itself is hazardous, on the account of the dark inclinations,*

the choice of the people, but the nomination of J. Cæsar, who a little before his death, upon the occasion of his intended expedition against the Parthians, named the *Consuls*, and all the *Tribuns*, for the two succeeding years. [Ep. ad Att. l. 14. 6.] It determines however the date of the Letter to some time between the death of Cæsar, and the 10th of December ; on which day the *Tribuns* elect used to enter into their office.

[3] This distinction between the Verbs *amare* and *diligere*, is intimated also in some of his other Letters. Ep. fam. l. 9. 14. l. 33. 47.

[4] The different force of the præpositions, *a* and *per*, as they are here applied, is this ; that though both of them, when joined to a passive verb, denote the agent, or the efficient cause ; yet, *a*, relates properly to the remote or primary cause, *per*, to the immediate instrument producing the effect : for example ; information given, *a suis iniquis*, implies it's being given from a distance, *per alium*, or *per litteras* ; but given *per suos iniquos*, denotes the immediate and personal agency of his enemies. Thus

Filius meus—*per alium* ostendit sententiam suam. Ter. Heaut. 2. 1.

cesque naturas. Clodii animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, judicatum: multa ejus indicia, sed ad scribendum non necessaria. Volo enim hoc testimonium tibi videri potius quàm epistolam. Auctus Antonii beneficio est: itaque eum, falvis nobis, vellet salvum. In eum autem locum rem adductam intelligit (est enim, ut scis, minime stultus) ut utrique salvi esse non possint: itaque nos mavult. De te verò amicissime & loquitur & sentit. Quare

and variable natures of men [5]. But Clodius's disposition is perfectly understood, known, and tried by me. I have many proofs of it; but not necessary to be committed to writing: for I would have you look upon this, as a testimonial, rather than an epistle. He was advanced by Antony's favor; yet a great share of that very favor came originally from you [6]. He would be glad therefore, to see him in safety; yet so, as to see us also safe at the same time: but he perceives things brought to such a pass [7], for he is, as you know, very far from a fool) that it is not possible for us both to be safe. He wishes therefore for us: and both talks, and thinks in the most

[5] The same sentiment is expressed by him with his usual elegance in different parts of his writings. "Every man's nature, says he, is wrapped up in many deceitfull teguments, and covered as it were from our notice with certain veils. The forehead, the eyes, the countenance often deceives us, but most of all the tongue." [Ep. ad Quint. Fr. l. 1. 1. §. 5.] and in another place, "since there are so many dark holes, and impenetrable recesses in the minds of men." Pr. Marcell. 7.

[6] He had been first recommended most probably by *Brutus* to *Antony*, in order to procure *Cæsar's* nomination of him to the Tribune.

[7] This seems to refer, as I have hinted above, to some hostilities, actually committed by *Antony*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*, against *D. Brutus*, who was blocked up by him in *Medena*, a Colony of *Rome*.

si quis fecus ad te de eo scripsit, aut si coràm locutus est, peto à te etiam atque etiam, mihi ut potiùs credas, qui & faciliùs judicare possum quàm ille nescio quis, & te plus diligo. Clodium tibi amicissimum existima, civemque talem, qualis & prudentissimus, & fortuna optima esse debet.

friendly manner of you. Wherefore if any one has written, or given you any different information about him; I earnestly entreat you to give credit rather to me; who am both better able to judge of him, than any obscure informer, and have a greater affection also for you. Look upon Clodius then, as one perfectly well affected to you; and such a Citizen, as one of the greatest prudence, and the easiest fortunes ought to be [8].

EPISTOLA II.

EPIST. II.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

Litteras tuas valde exspecto, quas scripsisti post nuncios nostrarum rerum, & de morte Trebonii: non enim dubito, quin mihi consilium tuum explices. Indigno scelere & civem optimum amisimus, & provinciæ possessione depulsi su-

I*Am in great expectation of the Letter, which you wrote, after the receipt of my last express, on the subject of my affairs and the death of Trebonius [1]. For I make no doubt, but that you will give me your sentiments on that occasion. We have lost an excellent Citizen, by a base act of villainy;*

[8] It is a just observation, which Cicero makes in different parts of his works, that men of affluent fortunes are generally well affected to the peace and liberty of their country, as being likely to be the greatest sufferers by any change, that tends to subvert the laws, and government, under which they live. [See Epist. 7. it. Philip. 13. 8.]

[1] Brutus, from the time of his leaving Italy, had sent two public Letters to the Senate,

mus; quam recuperari facile est: neque minùs turpe aut flagitiosum erit, si potest, non recuperari. Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed mediufidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo, ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat: planè æstuo. Quod si scirem, quid tibi placeret; sine sollicitudine essem: id enim optimum esse,

lainy; and are driven out of possession of the Province, which yet may easily be recovered; nor will it be less base and scandalous in us, not to recover it, if it be possible. Caius Antonius is still my prisoner: but in truth, I am moved by the prayers of the man; and afraid, lest the madness of some should make him an occasion of mischief to me [2]. I am wholly at a loss, what to do with him. If I knew, what your opinion upon it
persua-

Senate, giving an account of the state of his affairs abroad. The first informed them, how he had secured the greatest part of Macedonia, Illyricum and Greece, with the several armies belonging to them, to the interests of the Republic, against the attempts of *Caius Antonius*; whom he had obliged to retire into *Apollonia*, with no more than seven cohorts. Upon the receipt of which news the Consul *Pansa* immediately summoned the Senate, to whom *Cicero* delivered his 10th *Philippic*, on the subject of decreeing proper honors and thanks to *Brutus* for his eminent services. [See Life of *Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 313.] The second expresses, which is referred to in this Letter, brought a farther relation of *Brutus's* success, and his intire reduction of those provinces, by the final defeat of *C. Antonius*; who was taken prisoner in the engagement by young *Cicero*, to whom *Brutus* had given the command of that day's action. [See Life, ib. p. 319.] The same express gave an account also of the murder of *Trebonius* by *Dolabella*; who by that treachery had possessed himself of *Asia*. But this last piece of news had been received at *Rome* before, directly from *Asia*, while the Consul *Pansa* was still in the City, and gave occasion to *Cicero's* 11th *Philippic*, spoken in a debate upon that subject; in which he displays at large the perfidy and inhumanity of *Dolabella's* act, and recommends *Cassius*, as the properest General to prosecute the war against him. As to *Trebonius's* Character, and the manner of his death: See Life of *Cic.* ib. p. 233, 373.

[2] *C. Antonius*, Brother to *Mark Antony*, had been Prætor of the City the preceding year, when *Cæsar* was killed; and, near the expiration of his Prætorship, seized the Province of *Macedonia*, in virtue of a pretended allotment, made by his Brother the Consul, in order to secure it against the designs of *M. Brutus* — who, after he had taken him prisoner, treated him with great lenity, and all the respect due to a Proconsul, and was inclined to give him his liberty, lest his detention might occasion some disturbance in his camp, where many of the soldiers loved him, and a great part had served under him. But *Cicero's* constant remonstrances, which we shall find in the following Letters, induced *Brutus*, against his inclination, to keep him still in custody: where after the league of the *Triumvirate*, and their cruel proscription of all the friends of liberty, he

persuasum esset mihi. Quare quàm primùm fac me certior quid tibi placeat. Cassius noster Syriam, & legiones Syriacas habet; ultro quidem à Murco & à Marcio, & ab exercitu ipso arcessitus. Ego scripsi ad Tertiam sororem & matrem; ne prius ederent hoc, quod optimè ac felicissimè gefsit Cassius, quàm tuum consilium cognovissent, tibi que visum esset. Legi orationes duas tuas; quarum altera kal. Jan. usus es; altera de litteris meis; quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc exspectas, dum eas laudem.

was, I should be at ease; for I should persuade myself, that it was the best. Let me know therefore, as soon as possible, what you would have me do. Our Cassius is in possession of Syria, and the Syrian Legions; to which he was freely invited by Murcus and Marcius, as well as by the army itself [3]. I wrote to my sister Tertia, and to my mother [4], that they should not publish this most happy and fortunate turn of Cassius's affairs, till they had consulted you, and obtained your consent [5]. I have read your two Orations; the one of which you spoke on the first of January; the other is on the subject of my Letters, in answer to Calenus [6]. You expect now, I suppose, that I should praise them.

Nescio

was put to death at last, as a particular sacrifice to the Manes of Cicero. Plutar. in Brut.

[3] The account of this extraordinary success of Cassius in Syria is related more particularly in two several Letters, written on that occasion to Cicero by Cassius himself. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 11, 12. L. Statius Murcus and Q. Marcius Crispus, were Cæsarian Generals, each at the head of three legions, and acting in conjunction against Cæcilius Bassus, a Pompeian Commander, who had possessed himself of Apamea in Syria, which he maintained against them with a single legion, which voluntarily submitted to Cassius. Dio. l. 47. Philip. 11. 12.

[4] Brutus's Sister, Tertia, was the wife of Cassius. His Mother was Servilia; Sister to M. Cato, by the same Mother, but a different Father, Servilius: for the daughters generally bore the name of their Father's family; except where there happened to be several of them in one house; who, in that case, were distinguished usually, according to the order of their birth, by the names of Secunda, Tertia, &c.

[5] The ground of Brutus's scruples about the publication of this news at Rome, is explained in the 4th Letter.

[6] The first of these Orations is the fifth of Cicero's Philippics, in which he warmly exhorts

Nescio animi an ingenii tui major in his libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola jocans scripsisti. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia & supplemento: quarum altera potest abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars militum istinc mittatur nobis, vel secreto consilio adversus Pansam, vel actione in senatu: altera, quæ magis est necessaria, neque meo exercitui magis quam

I do not know, what to praise the most in these pieces; your courage, or your abilities. I allow you now, to call them even Philippics, as you intimated jocosely in a former Letter [1]. I am in want of two things, Cicero; money and recruits: the one of which may be supplied by you, so as to send me from thence some part of the troops; either by some secret management, against the will of Pansa [2]; or by a motion in the Senate: the other, which is more necessary, nor yet more so to my army, than to those of the other Commanders,

exhorts the Senate, instead of sending Embassadors to *Antony*, which had been proposed by *Calenus*, to declare him an enemy: and then decrees some extraordinary honors to *D. Brutus*, *M. Lepidus*, and *Octavius*—the second is the tenth *Philippic*, spoken, as is said above, upon the occasion of *Brutus's* first public Letters, in which *Cicero* decrees extraordinary honors to him, as due to his great services and success, in opposition to what was moved by *Calenus*, who had proposed, that *Brutus* should be required to give up the army, which he had raised by his private authority, to some Commander appointed by the Senate. This *Q. Fufius Calenus* was Father-in-law to the Consul *Pansa*, had been made Consul by *J. Cæsar*, and was *Antony's* fast friend, and the manager of his interests in the Senate against *Cicero*—See more of him, in Life of *Cic.* vol. 2. p. 338, 349, 353.

[1] *Cicero* called these Orations, *Philippics*, in imitation of *Demosthenes's* Orations against *Philip of Macedon*, as being chiefly of the same nature with those of *Demosthenes*; a series of invective Orations delivered to his Citizens, against *M. Antony*, the public enemy of the State: yet they were called indifferently, for some ages, either *Philippics* or *Antonians*. A. Gell. l. 13. 1. Lif. of *Cic.* vol. 2. p. 370.

[2] *C. Pansa*, the Consul, had been very busy for some time past, in raising new levies and gathering all the troops, that he could, in order to march with them to the assistance of his Collegue *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, who were already gone, each at the head of a veteran army, to the relief of *Modena*; in which *D. Brutus* was closely besieged, and reduced almost to extremity by *Antony*. He marched therefore out of *Rome* with his army, in the end of *March*, a few days before the date of this Letter, though *Brutus* had not yet heard of it, and was unwilling to spare any forces out of *Italy*, for reasons, which will be signified in Letter the 4th.

reliquorum, * * hoc magis do- [cannot perhaps be supplied so easily [1]]. For this reason, I am
leo Asiam * * nos amisisse : the more concerned * * for our
quam sic vexari à Dolabella loss of Asia [2] : which is so mise-
audio, ut jam non videatur rably harassed, I bear, by Do-
crudelissimum ejus facinus, in- labella [3], that the murder of
terfectio Trebonii. Vetus An- Trebonius can no longer be thought
tistius me tamen pecunia sub- his cruellest act. Vetus Antistius
however has relieved me with mo-
le-avit.

The words in the Latin text, *vel secreto consilio adversus Pansa*, may possibly bear a different interpretation from what I have given them : for if *adversus*, as it is sometimes used, should be thought to have the same meaning here as *apud Pansa*, then the translation of the sentence should be, *by some private consultation in concert with Pansa*, but the other sense is the most natural ; since Brutus might well be supposed to know, for reasons very obvious, that Pansa would not consent to send any troops at that time out of Italy.

[1] There is something wanted at this place in the text, to complete the sense, which *And. Patricius* supplies, by the Words [*vix potest.*] It was somewhat most probably of a similar turn, and agreeable to what I have inserted in the translation. [See *Patric. Not. in Fragment. Epist. ad Brut.*] The remaining part of the Letter is printed separately in the common Editions ; as if it were a Fragment, or conclusion of a different Letter ; but *Sigonius*, *Manutius* and *Patricius*, who had considered these fragments with a particular attention, have added it to this place ; with which it seems to suit so naturally, as to make it probable, though not certain, that it might originally have belonged to it.

[2] *Asia* was a Province, remarkably rich and fruitfull ; and of all others the most conveniently situated for supplying *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with what they particularly wanted ; money and the other necessities of war ; which made the loss of it at this time the more sensibly felt and regretted.

[3] *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was *Cicero's* Son-in-law ; the third husband of his daughter *Tullia*, from whom he was divorced a little before her death. *Cicero* however, both before and after that divorce, continued to keep up a fair correspondence with him ; and more especially after *Cæsar's* death, when he was Consul with *M. Antony*, he took great pains to preserve his authority with him ; in order to engage him to the interests of the Republic, and to use him as a check upon his Colleague, *Antony* ; of which *Dolabella* for some time gave him great hopes : but being ambitious, needy and void of every good principle, he was bribed and wholly gained at last by *Antony* ; in concert with whom he formed a project to seize the Province of *Syria*, and to secure the Eastern part of the Empire against the attempts of *Cassius* : and in pursuance of that resolution, as he was passing through *Asia*, he surpris'd and took the City of *Smyrna*
by

levavit. Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem, cujus sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris faciās eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kalend. April. Dyrrachio.

ney [1]. Cicero, your son, recommends himself to me so effectually by his industry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, and in short, by every duty, that he seems never to drop the remembrance, of whose son he is. Wherefore, since it is not possible for me, to make you love him more, than you do already; yet allow thus much to my judgement, as to persuade yourself, that he will have no occasion to borrow any share of your glory, in order to obtain his Father's honors [2]. April 1st, from Dyrrhachium.

EPISTOLA III.

EPIST. III.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS,

PLanci animum in rempublicam egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litte-

FROM Plancus's Letter [1], a copy of which, I imagine, has been sent to you, you have been

Y y 2

ris

by treachery, where the Proconsul Trebonius resided; whom he put to death with the utmost cruelty; and having by this means got possession of Asia, began presently to waste and plunder it of every thing that was useful for war; for which he was declared an enemy by the Senate. See a farther account of his character and death, in the Life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 40, 264, 373, 444, &c.

[1] See Letter the sixth.

[2] This good character of Cicero's son, to whom Brutus had given the command of his horse, is confirmed by the Letters of other friends, during his continuance at Athens, and with Brutus. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 14, 16. See an account of him at large, in Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 570.

[3] L. Plancus was Consul elect for the ensuing year, by the nomination of J. Caesar; and

ris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Lepidi tui necessarii, qui secundum fratrem affines habet, quos oderit proximos, levitatem & inconstantiam, animumque semper inimicum rei-publicæ, jam credo tibi ex tuorum litteris esse perspectum. Nos expectatio sollicitat, quæ est omnis jam in extremum

able to inform yourself of his excellent disposition towards the Republic; with the condition of his Legions, auxiliaries, and whole forces. From the letters also of your own people, you are convinced, I believe, by this time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend Lepidus [1]; who, next to his own brother [2], hates you, his near relations, the most [3]. We are anxious with expectation, which is adducta

and now commanded the farther Gaul, with Proconsular authority. His Letter here referred to was a public one, still extant; addressed to the Magistrates, Senate and People of Rome. [Ep. Fam. l. 10. 8.] It was received and read in the Senate, on the 7th of April, where it occasioned a warm debate for two days successively, of which Cicero gave Plancus an account in a letter dated the 11th of April. [Ep. Fam. 10. 12.] This Letter therefore to Brutus must have been written about the same time, within a day or two after the same debate, which is alluded to below. The reader will find a large account of Plancus, in the Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 404, 436, 446, 461.

[1] M. Æmilius Lepidus appears to have been a weak, vain, inconstant man; void of all good intentions towards the Republic; and governing himself wholly by such motives, as flattered his vanity, or served his ambition. D. Brutus, in a Letter to Cicero, calls him, *hominem ventosissimum*; light and changeable as the wind; and never disposed, to do any thing that was right. [Ep. Fam. 11. 9.] See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 250, 494.] The particular instance of his disaffection, for which Cicero censures him here so severely, was not, as Mr. Tunstall interprets it, the act of receiving Antony into his camp, after his flight from Modena, for that was above six weeks later, but his sending a body of troops to Antony's assistance before Modena, under two of his Lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo: which he endeavoured afterwards to excuse, in a Letter to Cicero, dated the 22d of May, as done against his orders, and by the perfidy of those Officers. Ep. Fam. l. 10. 34.

[2] Lepidus's Brother was Paullus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been Consul seven years before, with C. Marcellus, when he was said to have sold himself to Cæsar. [See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 49.] But at this time he was acting a contrary part, and appears to have been zealous in the cause of the Republic: for after the defeat of Antony, and death of the Consuls, he made a motion in the Senate, that the fourth and martial Legions, which were both veteran, and had put themselves under the command of Octavianus, should be delivered up by him to D. Brutus: [Ep. Fam. l. 11. 19.] for which he was afterwards proscribed by the Triumvirate, with the consent of his Brother.

[3] Lepidus's wife and Cassius's were Sisters to M. Brutus, and both living at this time

adducta discrimen. Est enim spes omnis in Bruto expediendo, de quo vehementer timebamus. Ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo negotii, Servilio; quem tuli diutius quàm dignitas mea patiebatur: sed tuli reipublicæ causâ; ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parum sanum illum quidem, sed tamen nobilem, quò concurrerent: quod faciunt nihilominus: sed eum alienandum à republica non putabam. Finem feci ejus ferendi: coeperat enim esse tanta insolentia, ut neminem liberum duceret: In Planci verò causa exarsit incredibili dolore; mecumque per biduum ita contendit, & à me ita fractus est; ut eum in perpetuum modestiorem sperem fore. Atque in

now reduced to the last crisis. All our hopes are fixed on the delivery of Brutus; for whom we have been under great apprehensions [1]. I have business enough here upon my hands with the madman, Servilius [2]; whom I have endured longer, than became my dignity: but I did it for the sake of the Republic; lest I should give our profligate Citizens a leader, though of little sense indeed himself, yet noble, to resort to: which nevertheless they still do: but I did not think it convenient to alienate him from the Republic. I have now put an end to my forbearance of him; for he began to grow so insolent, that he looked upon every man as a Slave. But in the debate about Plancus he was strangely mortified; and, after a contest with me for two days, was so roughly handled by me, that he will always, I hope, be the modester for it hereafter [3]. In the midst

in Rome. Thus Cicero also begins one of his Letters to Cassius; the perjury of your Kinsman Lepidus, &c. [Ep. Fam. 12.]

[1] They were expecting every day at Rome, to hear of a decisive action at Modena, where D. Brutus had been besieged near four months: and within a few days after this Letter was written, they had the joyful news of Antony's defeat. See Let. 8th. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 417.

[2] P. Servilius was Consul with J. Caesar, five years before, when Caesar followed Pompey into Greece, and fought with him at Pharsalia. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 411.

[3] The debate here mentioned, about the case of Plancus, is more particularly related by Cicero in a Letter to Plancus himself. Ep. Fam. 10. 12.

hac contentione ipsa, quum maximè res ageretur a. d. v. id. April. litteræ mihi in senatu redditæ sunt à Lentulo nostro; de Cassio, de legionibus, de Syria: quas statim cum recitavissem cecidit Servilius; complures præterea: sunt enim insignes aliquot, qui improbiissime sentiunt: sed acerbissime tulit Servilius, assensum esse mihi de Planco. Magnum illud monstrum in repub. est sed quo * *.

*of this contention, and in the very heat of the debate, on the ninth of April, a Letter was delivered to me in the Senate from our Lentulus [1]; giving an account of Cassius, the Legions, and Syria; which when I had read presently in public, Servilius sunk; and many more besides: for there are several of distinguished rank, most wickedly affected: but Servilius was cruelly chagrined to see the Senate assent to my motion about Plancus. The part which he acts in the Republic, is very monstrous: but whither * * * ,*

EPISTOLA IV.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

DATIS mane a. d. III. id April. Scaptio litteris, eodem die tuas accepi kal. April. Dyrrachio datas, vesperi:

EPIST. IV.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

AFTER I had given my Letter to Scaptius [2], on the 11th of April in the morning [3], I received one from you the same day in the evening, dated from ire,

[1] This *P. Lentulus* was the Son of *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was Consul in the time of *Cicero's* exile, and the chief author of his restoration. The Son was *Quæstor* in *Asia* to *Trebonius*; and, upon *Trebonius's* death, took upon him the administration and defence of that Province, in opposition to *Dolabella*; by whom however he was driven out of it. See his Letters to *Cicero*. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 14, 15.

[2] This refers most probably to the preceding Letter, which is now imperfect in the conclusion, but must have been written, as I have shewn in the notes, on the 10th, or 11th of April.

[3] All the Editions exhibit here, (a. d. vi. id. April.) or the 8th of April; whereas the

itaque mane prid. id. April. cum à Scaptio certior factus essem, non esse eos profectos, quibus pridie dederat, & statim ire, hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. De Cassio lætor & reipublicæ gratulor : mihi etiam, qui, repugnante & irascente Pansa, sententiam dixerim ; ut Dolabellam bello Cassius persequeretur : Et quidem audacter dicebam, sine nostro senatus-consulto jam illud eum bellum gerere. De te etiam dixi, tum quæ dicenda putavi. Hæc ad te oratio perferetur ; quoniam

Dyrrachium, on the first of April [1]. Being informed therefore by Scaptius [2] early on the 12th, that the messengers, to whom he had delivered [3] my Letters the day before, were not yet set forward, but were going away immediately, I scratched out this short Letter, in the croud of my morning visitors. I rejoice at Cassius's success, and congratulate the Republic upon it ; and myself also, who against the will, and to the displeasure even of Pansa, moved the Senate, that Cassius should have the conduct of the war against Dolabella : nay I boldly declared, that without waiting for a decree of the Senate, he was already prosecuting that war. I spoke also concerning you, what I thought proper to be said at that time. This Speech shall be conveyed to

the words of the letter declare it to have been written, [a. d. iiii. id.] or on the eleventh : the date likewise at the end, as it stands in the Editions, is [id. Apr.] or the 13th ; though it appears from the letter, that it should have been, [prid. id.] or the 12th. Since the original dates then have been unquestionably corrupted by the negligence of transcribers, I found it necessary to reduce them to a conformity with the letter, agreeably to what I have said on that subject in my Preface.

[1] Letter the second, from Brutus to Cicero, as above.

[2] There were two Scaptius's, who are mentioned by Cicero, during his government of Cilicia, as the managers of Brutus's affairs ; the one in Cappadocia, the other in Cyprus : to the first of whom, at Brutus's desire, he granted a Præfecture and Tribunal in the army. Epist. ad Att. 1. 6. 1, 3.

[3] All the Editions give us in this place *dederat*, as referable to Cicero, speaking of himself. But the context makes it necessary, I think, to change it to *dedit*, in the third person, as being clearly applicable to Scaptius.

te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Quod me de Antonio consulis: quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ex his litteris, quas mihi misisti; Dolabella Asiam vexare videtur, & in ea se gerere teterrime: compluribus autem scripsisti, *Dolbellam à Rhodiis esse exclusum*: qui si ad Rhodum accessit, videtur mihi Asiam reliquisse. Id si ita est, istic tibi censeo commorandum: sin eam semel cepit, mihi crede, non erit; at in Asiam censeo persequendum. Nihil mihi videris hoc tempore melius acturus. * * Quod egere

to you [1]; *since you are pleased, I perceive, with my Philippics. As to my advice, which you ask about C. Antonius, I think, that he should be kept in custody, till you know the fate of D. Brutus. By the Letters which you sent to me, Dolabella seems still to be harassing Asia, and acting in it most villainously* [2]: *Yet you wrote to several others, that he had been refused admittance by the Rhodians: If he really came to Rhodes, I take him to have quitted Asia. If that be the case, I am of opinion, that you should stay where you are; but if he has got possession of that Province, take my word for it, you must not stay* * * * *but should pursue him directly into Asia: You can do nothing more serviceable in our present circumstances* [3]. * * As

[1] This affair of Cicero's opposition to *Pansa* in favor of *Cassius*, and what he declared on that occasion, to the Senate and to the people, is signified in a particular Letter to *Cassius* himself. Ep. Fam. 12. 7. His Speech upon it to the Senate, which he promises here to send to *Brutus*, is the 11th *Philippic*. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 376.

[2] *P. Lentulus* also, in a Letter to *Cicero*, speaking of *Dolabella's* cruelties, says; *after he had laid waste the Province, seized the public revenues, most cruelly plundered the Roman Citizens, and even sold them for Slaves, he quitted Asia*. Ep. Fam. 12. 15.

[3] The remainder of this Letter is printed separately in the common Editions, as a distinct Epistle without any date: but *P. Manutius* and *And. Patricius* have connected it with the foregoing part dated April 24th: as seeming to be a continuation of *Cicero's* answer to the several particulars of *Brutus's* Letters above, and in such a manner, as might be expected from one writing, as he says, in haste, and in a croud.

te duâbus necessariis rebus scribis, *supplemento* & *pecunia*, difficile consilium est : non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas senatus decrevit ; ut pecunias à civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De *supplemento* autem non video quid fieri possit : tantum enim abest, ut *Pansa* de exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios : quomodo equidem credo, quòd his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis

to what you write, that you are in want of two necessary things, recruits and money ; it is difficult to help you. I cannot think of any other way to raise money, which could be of use to you, but that, which the Senate has decreed, that you should borrow it from the Cities [9]. But as to recruits, I do not see what is possible to be done. For *Pansa* is so far from granting any share of his army, or new levies to you, that he is even uneasy, to see so many volunteers going over to you. His reason for it, as I really believe, is, that he thinks no forces too great for the demand of our affairs in Italy ; [10] but, as many suspect, it is, because he has no mind to see you too

[9] Upon the receipt of *Brutus's* letters, the Senate decreed at *Cicero's* motion, and in his words, that *Brutus* should borrow money, on the public credit, for the support of the war, from whomsoever he thought fit. Phil. 10. 11.

[10] *Pansa* certainly judged right, in imagining the stress of the war to lie at present in *Italy* ; and the fate of the republic to depend principally on their success, before *Modena* ; where, as the event shewed, the united forces of the two Consuls and *Octavius*, with the help also of *D. Brutus*, were but barely sufficient, and not without great difficulty, to get the better of *Antony*. What is said in this letter concerning *Pansa*, would lead one to imagine, that he was in *Rome*, at the time when *Cicero* wrote it : and if so, the latter part of the letter, annexed here as I have observed, by *Manutius*, cannot belong to the former part, which bears date on *April 12th* ; because *Pansa* quitted *Rome* before the end of *March*. [Ep. Fam. 10. 10.] But the passage does not necessarily require that interpretation ; but may allude only perhaps to *Pansa's* known inclination ; and to what he had declared to *Cicero* on that subject before he left *Rome* : who when he quitted it, left one of his legions still behind for the guard of the City, and might leave orders withal, that no part of it should be sent away to *Brutus*.

magnas esse arbitretur: quomodo autem multi suspicantur, quòd ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit: quod ego non suspicor. Quod scribis, *te ad Tertiam sororem scripisse, ut ne prius ederent ea, quæ gesta à Cassio essent, quàm mihi visum esset*; video te veritum esse id quod verendum fuit; ne animi partium Cæsaris, quomodo etiam nunc partes appellantur, vehementer commoverentur. Sed antè quàm tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata: tui etiam tabellarii ad multos familiares tuos litteras attulerant. Quare ne-

too strong; of which I have no suspicion [11]. *As to what you say, that you had written to your Sister Tertia, not to publish the good news about Cassius, before they had taken my opinion upon it; you were afraid, I perceive, of what indeed was to be apprehended, lest the minds of the Cæsarian party, as our parties are even still distinguished, should be greatly shocked at it* [12.] *But before we had received your letters, that affair was known and divulged* [13]; *and your own Messengers also had brought other letters to many of your friends. The*

[11] *Brutus* and his friends greatly suspected the fidelity of the Consuls; but *Cicero*, who had conversed with them more intimately, than any of his party, always discouraged those suspicions, and vindicated the integrity of their intentions; which was shortly after confirmed by their behaviour at *Modena*, where they both lost their lives in the defence of their country. Upon which occasion *Cicero* puts *Brutus* in mind in a following Letter, that they had answered to the character, which he had always given of them. See *Epist.* 8. note [3] and *Epist.* 9. note [12].

[12] *Brutus's* caution about the publication of this news seems to have been well grounded, as *Cicero* allows indeed in this Letter, but signifies more clearly in some of his *Philippics*; where he takes great pains to refute the insinuations, invidiously thrown out by the opposite party, of the danger, that might be apprehended, from the excessive power of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Vid. *Phil.* 10. 7. it. 11. 14, 15.

[13] The first account of this news came probably from *Cornelius's* Letter, which *Cicero* read to the Senate, as it is mentioned in *Epist.* the 3d; which seems to have arrived about two days before *Brutus's* letter.

que suppressenda res erat, præsertim cum id fieri non posset; neque si posset, non divulgandam potius, quam occultandam putaremus. De Cicerone meo, & si tantum est in eo quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo gaudeo; & si quod amas eum eò majora facis, id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, à te eum diligi. Prid. id April.

thing therefore could not be suppressed, since that was already out of our power; yet if it had been otherwise, we should have thought it proper to be published, rather than concealed. As to my Son, if his merit be really as great, as you write, I rejoice at it, as much as I ought to do: or if you make it greater than it is, because you love him, even that also gives me an incredible joy, to find that he is beloved by you. April the 12th.

EPISTOLA V.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

QUÆ litteræ tuo nomine recitatæ sint id. April. in senatu, eodemque tempore Antonii, credo ad te scripsisse tuos; quorum ego nemini concedo. Sed nihil necesse erat eadem omnes: illud necesse me ad te scribere; quid sentirem de tota constitutione hujus belli, & quo judicio essem, quaque sententia. Voluntas mea, Brute, de summa republica semper eadem fuit,

EPIST. V.

CICERO to BRUTUS

WHAT Letters were read in the Senate on the 13th of April, in your name, and at the same time, in Antonius's, you have been informed, I suppose, by your people; to none of whom I give place, in point of affection for you. But there was no necessity, that we should all write on the same subject. The part, that belongs necessarily to me, is, to signify my sentiments on the whole state of this war; what my judgement of it is; what my ground of voting in the Senate. My general view, Brutus, with regard to public affairs, has always been the same with yours; though my mea-

quæ tua ; ratio quibusdam in rebus (non enim omnibus) paullo fortasse vehementior. Scis mihi semper placuisse, non rege solùm, sed regno liberari rempublicam : tu leniùs ; immortali omnino cum tua laude ; sed quid melius fuerit ; magno dolore sensimus, magno periculo sentimus. Recenti illo tempore, tu omnia ad pacem, quæ oratione confici non poterat : ego omnia ad libertatem, quæ sine pace nulla est : pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar. Studia non deerant arma poscentium, quorum repressimus impetum,

measures, in some particular cases, for I cannot say in all, have been perhaps a little more vehement [1]. It was ever my wish, as you know, to see the Republic freed, not onely from a Tyrant, but from Tyranny itself. You were for milder counsils ; and with immortal honor to yourself : but which of the two was the better ; we have felt to our great grief, and still feel to our great danger. In that time of our late confusion [2], all your aim was bent on peace, which was not to be obtained by Speeches ; mine on liberty ; which is nothing indeed without peace : but a real peace, I imagined, was to be procured onely by war and force of arms. There was no zeal wanting in the people, who called aloud for arms : but we discouraged their vigor,

[1] After the death of *Cæsar*, *Cicero* was constantly urging *Brutus* and his accomplices, to support that act by vigorous measures, and to arm themselves against the dissimulation and ambitious views of *M. Antony*. *Brutus* on the other hand was bent on pacific counsils, and persuaded, that the integrity of their cause would work it's own way, and unite all people in defence of that liberty, which was offered to them ; and having conceived some hopes also of *Antony*, he was willing to pay all due respect to his Consular authority ; nor to take any step, but in the ordinary forms of the constitution : and even after he was driven out of the City by *Antony's* intrigues, he adhered to the same maxims ; lived retired in the country, and dismissed the concourse of his friends, who resorted to him from all parts of *Italy*, and were eager to take arms in his cause. This is the ground of *Cicero's* expostulation with him in the first part of this Letter ; where he reminds him likewise of his original mistake, in saving *Antony*, at the time when *Cæsar* was killed, as being the cause of all the trouble, which they had since suffered, and of the danger to which they were now exposed.

[2] Which was occasioned by *Cæsar's* death.

ardoremque restinximus. Ita-
que res in eum locum venerat,
ut nisi Cæsari Octaviano deus
quidam illam mentem dedisset,
in potestatem perditissimi ho-
minis & turpissimi, M. Anto-
nii, veniendum fuerit: quo-
rum vides hoc tempore ipso
quod sit quantumque certamen.
Iam profectò nullum esset, nisi
eum conservatus esset Antonius.
Sed hæc omitto: res enim à te
gesta, memorabilis & penè cœ-
lestis, repellit omnes reprehension-

*and extinguished their ardor [3].
Our affairs therefore were reduced
to such a state, that unless some
God had inspired Cæsar Octavia-
nus with that resolution, which he
exerted, we must have fallen into the
power of a most desperate and infam-
ous man, M. Antony [4]; with
whom you see at this very time,
how great and difficult a strug-
gle we have upon our hands [5]:
which would have been wholly
avoided, if Antony had not then
been preserved [6]. But I omit
what is past: for that memorable
and almost cælestial act of yours is
so far superior to all reprehension,*

[3] This was owing to the pacific measures of the Conspirators, and especially of Brutus; which gave their enemies time to arm themselves, and gather such a force about them, as proved strong enough in the end, to destroy both them and the Republic. Thus in a letter to Antony, written jointly by Brutus and Cassius, they put him in mind, how they had voluntarily thrown themselves into his power; and, by his advice, had dismissed the guard of their friends, who resorted to them from the principal Towns of Italy. Ep. Fam. 11. 2.

[4] Octavius, who, by the will of his Uncle, J. Cæsar, was left the heir of his name and estate, finding himself ill treated by the Consul Antony, and likely to be deprived by him of that succession, betook himself directly to arms, though but eighteen years old; and by great bribes and greater promises, presently drew together a strong army of veterans, who had served his Uncle in his wars, and were dispersed in the several colonies of Italy. With these he declared for the authority of the Senate, and marched into the neighbourhood of Rome, to cover it from the insults of Antony; who would otherwise have made himself master of it, but was obliged by this disappointment to carry the war into Cisalpine Gaul. [Phil. 3. 2. 5. 11.] where D. Brutus had fortified himself in Modena; which he held out against him, till the Consuls Hirtius and Panfa, in conjunction with Octavius, came with their several armies to his relief.

[5] In Cisalpine Gaul, where Modena was now besieged, and reduced almost to the last extremity by Antony.

[6] At the time when Cæsar was killed; for which piece of scrupulous and unseasonable clemency, Cicero reproves the other chiefs also of the Conspiracy, in his letters to them. Ep. Fam. 10. 28. 12. 4.

fiones: quippe quæ ne laude quidem satis idonea affici possit. Exstitisti nuper vultu severo: exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparasti. Dii immortales! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ literæ, quæ lætitia senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat! nihil umquam vidi tam omnium consensione laudatum. Erat expectatio reliquiarum Antonii; quem equitatu, legionibusque magna ex parte spoliaras: ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem. Nam tuæ literæ, quæ recitatæ in senatu sunt, & imperatoris consilium, & militum virtutem, & industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his literis referri; & nisi in tempus turbulentissimum, post discessum Pansæ consulis, incidissent, honos quo-

that it cannot even be praised so much, as it deserves [7]. You have assumed of late an air of severity; and have drawn together in a short time by your own vigor, a competent army, forces, Legions. Good Gods! how welcom was that express of yours? how those letters [8]? What a joy did they raise in the Senate? what alacrity in the City? I never saw any thing so universally applauded. We were in some suspense still, about the remains of C. Antonius; whom you had deprived of his horse, and in great part of his legions: but that affair also had such an end as we wished. For your letter, which was read in the Senate [9], shews the prudence of the General, the virtue of your Soldiers, the industry of your Officers, and in particular of my Cicero. If your friends had been willing to move the Senate upon it, and if it had not fallen into a most turbulent time, after the departure of the Consul Pansa [10], some just and proper honor would have

[7] The act of killing *Cæsar* in the Senate; which *Cicero* afterwards, in a Speech to the same Senate, called, *the most glorious, that was ever performed in any City*, Phil. 2. 12.

[8] This refers to *Brutus's* first express, which brought account to the Senate of his unexpected success in *Macedonia*. See Note [1] Epist. 2d.

[9] This relates to *Brutus's* 2d express. See Note ib.

[10] Who marched out of *Rome* a little before the arrival of the second express, with a new raised army towards *Medena*, in order to join with *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and give battle to *Antony*.

que justus & debitus diis immortalibus decretus esset. Ecce tibi idib. April. advolat manè celer Pilus: qui vir! dii boni, quàm gravis! quàm constans! quàm bonarum in republica partium! Hic epistolas affert duas; unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii: dat Servilio tribuno plebis: ille Cornuto: recitantur in senatu. ANTONIUS PROCOS. magna admiratio; ut si esset recitatum, DOLABELLA IMPERATOR; à quo quidem venerant tabellarii; sed nemo Pili similis, qui proferre litteras auderet, aut magistratibus red- dere. Tuæ recitantur; breves

been decreed for it to the Gods [11]. In this interval, on the 13th of April, in the morning, your nimble Courier, Pilus, comes flying to us. What a man! good Gods! how important? how constant to himself? how zealous in the cause of the Republic? he brings with him two letters; one in your name; the other in C. Antonius's: gives them to Servilius, the Tribune; he, to Cornutus the Prætor [12]: they are read in the Senate, ANTONIUS PROCONSUL [13]; raised as much admiration, as if any one had read; DOLABELLA EMPEROUR. From whom also there came an express; but there was no body, like your Pilus, so hardy, as to produce the letters, or deliver them to the magistrates. Your

[11] It was always usual, upon the news of any signal victory, signified in form to the Senate by their Generals abroad, to decree a *Supplication* or *public Thanksgiving* to the Gods, for a number of days successively; proportionable to the importance of the victory, and the reputation of the General.

[12] The Tribuns had the power of convoking the Senate in the absence of the superior magistrates. In virtue of which, they summoned that meeting, on the 20th of December, when Cicero spoke his *third Philippic*. [Phil. 3. 5.] But the Prætors, by their office, were properly the *Collegues of the Consuls*, and their Deputies in absence. [A. Gell. 13. 15.] Thus Cicero, in a letter written about this time to Plancus, says; *we carried your letters directly to Cornutus, the Prætor of the City; who because the Consuls were absent, supplied the Consular office, by the custom of our ancestors.* [Ep. Fam. 10. 12.]

[13] Brutus, who, as it is said above, treated his prisoner Antonius with great civility, carried his indulgence of him so far, as to suffer him not onely to write to the Senate, but to assume the Title of *Proconsul* in his letter. Though his Proconsular power was at first illegally usurped, and afterwards traiterously employed against the Republic. This greatly startled and shocked all Brutus's friends at Rome, so as to drive them to the hardy expedient, here mentioned, of disclaiming his letters, as forged.

illæ quidem, sed in Antonium admodum lenes: vehementer admiratus senatus: mihi autem non erat explicatum, quid agerem: falsas dicerem? quid si tu eas approbasses? confirmarem? non erat dignitatis tuæ: itaque ille dies silentio. Postridie autem, cū sermo increbuisse; Pilusque oculos vehementius hominum offendisset; natum omnino est principium à me. De PROCOS. ANTONIO multa. Sextius causæ non defuit. Post mecum: quanto suum filium, quanto meum in periculo futurum duceret, si contra procos. arma tulissent: nosti hominem: causæ non defuit. Dixerunt etiam alii. Labeo verò noster, nec signum tuum in epistola, nec diem appositum, nec te scripsisse ad tuos, ut foleres: hoc cogere volebat, falsas litteras

letter was read, short indeed, but extremely mild towards Antonius. The Senate was greatly surprized at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—what if you should own it? should I admit it to be genuin? that was not for your honor [14]. I was silent therefore for that day. But the day following, when the affair had raised much talk, and Pilus's behaviour given public offence; I began the debate; spoke much on PROCONSUL Antonius. Sextius performed his part; and remonstrated to me afterwards; in what danger he should think his Son; in what mine; if they had really taken up arms against a PROCONSUL. You know the man: he did justice to the cause. Others also spoke: but our friend Labeo observed [15], that your seal was not put to the Letter; nor any date added; nor had you written about it, as you used to do, to your friends. By this he had a mind to prove, that the letter was forged; and

[14] For if *Antonius* had been a legal *Proconsul*, it must have been not onely dishonorable, but criminal in *Brutus*. to act against him as an enemy, and detain him a prisoner.

[15] *Labeo* was one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, and *Brutus's* Lieutenant in *Macedonia*; where he fell in the battle of *Philippi*: upon the news of whose death, *Brutus* is said to have expressed a particular concern, just before he put an end to his own life. *Plutar. in Brut.*

esse; & si quæris, probabat. Nunc tuum est consilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari, & eum putare fructum esse maximum: præclare quidem; sed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus, locus esse solet debetque clementiæ. Nunc quid agitur, Brute? templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium & perditorum spes; nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello; nisi utrum simus, necne. Cui parcimus, aut quid agimus? His ergo consulimus, quibus victoribus, vestigium nostrum nullum relinquetur? Nam quid interest inter Dolabellam, & quemvis Antoniorum trium? quorum sicui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Hæc ut ita sentiret senatus populusque Romanus, etsi res ipsa cogeabat, tamen maxima ex parte nostro consilio atque auctoritate perfectum est. Tu si hanc rationem non

in short, convinced the Senate of it. It is now your part, Brutus, to consider the whole nature of the war. You are delighted, I perceive, with lenity; and take it to be of the greatest use to us. This in general is laudable; but the proper place of clemency is, and ought to be, in cases and seasons different from the present. For what are we now doing, Brutus? we see a needy and desperate crew, ready to fall upon the Temples of the Immortal Gods: and that the single point, to be decided by this war, is, whether we are to live or not. Who is it then, that we are sparing? or what are we aiming at? are we consulting the safety of those, who, if they happen to conquer, will not leave the least remains of any of us? for what difference is there between Dolabella and any one of the three Antony's [16]? If we spare any of these, we have been too hard upon Dolabella [17]. It was owing chiefly to my advice and authority, that the Senate and people were brought into this way of thinking; though the thing itself indeed engaged them also to it. If you do not ap-

[16] Marcus, who was besieging D. Brutus in Modena: Lucius, who was in his Brother's Camp; and Caius, now the prisoner of M. Brutus.

[17] Who was declared an enemy, for the murder of Trebonius, and his cruelties in Asia. See Epist. 2d. Note 1, 11.

probas; tuam sententiam defendam, non relinquam meam. Neque dissolutum à te quidquam homines expectant, neque crudele: hujus rei moderatio facilis est; ut in duces vehemens sis, in milites liberalis. Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quàm plurimùm tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quàm contemplationem atque imitationem tui. xvi. kalend. Maii.

prove this manner of proceeding, I shall defend your opinion, yet cannot depart from my own. The world does not expect any thing from you, either remiss, or cruel. It is easy to moderate the matter, by using severity to the Leaders, generosity to the Soldiers. As for my son, I desire you, my Brutus, to keep him with you, as much as possible. He will find no better school of virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of you.
April. 16.

EPISTOLA VI.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

Veteris Antistii talis animus est in rempublicam, ut non dubitem, quin & in Cæsare & Antonio se præfraturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatores communis liber-

EPIST. VI.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

Vetus Antistius is so well affected to the Republic [1], that I cannot doubt, but that, if a proper occasion had offered, he would have shewn himself a most strenuous assertor of our common liberty, both against Cæsar and

[1] This *Vetus*, who appears now to be so well affected to Brutus, had been Procurator of Syria during Cæsar's reign; and a little before his death, was besieging *Apamea*, possessed by *Cæcilius Bassus*, one of the Pompeian Commanders, who after his flight from *Pharsalia*, had gathered a body of troops, with which he maintained his ground in that Province, in opposition to Cæsar's power; and when besieged and reduced almost to extremity by *Vetus*, was delivered from the siege by *Pacorus*, Prince of *Parthia*, and *Abundantius*, an Arabian Tetrarch. Ep. ad Att. 14. 9. Dio, l. 47. 343.

tatis, si occasione potuisset occurrere. Nam qui in Achaia congressus, P. Dolabella milites atque equites habente, quodvis adire periculum, ex infidiis paratissimi ad omnia latronis, maluerit, quàm videri, aut coactus esse pecuniam dare, aut libenter dedisse homini nequissimo atque improbissimo; is nobis ultro & pollicitus est, & dedit H-S xx. ex sua pecunia: &, quod multo carius est, seipsum obtulit, & conjunxit. Huic persuadere cepimus, ut imperator in castris remaneret, remque publicam defenderet; statuit eundem

Antony. *For he, who, in Achaia, in a congress with Dolabella, when surrounded with troops and horse [2], chose to expose himself to any danger, from the treachery of a robber, prepared for every thing desperate, rather than seem, either through force or inclination, to have given any money to a most abandoned and profligate man [3]; yet he, I say, both voluntarily promised, and has actually given me two millions of Sesterces, out of his own money [4]: and what I value much more, has offered and joined himself to me. I have been endeavouring to persuade him, that in virtue of his command, as General, he would continue with me in the Camp, and defend the Republic [5]: but since he had dis-*

[2] *Vetus*, as it appears from this letter, had not yet passed through the *Proconsulship*, though he had commanded in Syria as *Propraetor*: but he had governed it either by an extraordinary commission from *Cæsar*, or had been *Quæstor* probably to the last *Proconsul*, upon whose death or departure, the Province fell of course into his hands. Thus *P. Lentulus*, *Quæstor* to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, took upon him the command of that Province, upon the death of his *Proconsul*, with the title of *Propraetor*. Ep. Fam. 12. 15.

[3] *Dolabella's* business, in this progress, was to gather all the troops and money, that he could find in the Cities and Provinces, through which he passed, in order to make head against *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the Eastern part of the Empire. *Plutarch* has preserved a Greek Epistle of *Brutus* on this subject, written in his *Laconic* style to the *Pergamenians*. “I hear, that you have given *Dolabella* money. If you gave it willingly, you must own, that you have injured me: if unwillingly, shew it, by giving willingly to me.” *Plut.* in *Brut.*

[4] This is computed to amount to 16144 *l.* of English money.

[5] As he had commanded an army in chief, so a General's commission never expires, till he entered again within the walls of *Rome*.

fibi, quoniam exercitum dimississet: statim verò rediturum ad nos confirmavit, legatione suscepta, nisi prætorum comitia habituri essent consules. Nam illi ita sentienti de republica magnopere auctor fui, ne differret tempus petitionis suæ; cuius factum omnibus gratum esse debet, qui modò judicant, hunc exercitum esse reipublicæ; tibi tanto gratius, quanto & majore animo gloriaque libertatem nostram defendis, & dignitatem, si contigerit nostris consiliis exitus, quem optamus, perfructurus es. Ego etiam, mi Cicero, proprie familiariterque te rogo, ut Veterem ames, velisque esse quàm amplissimum: qui etsi nulla re deterri à proposito potest, tamen excitari tuis laudibus indulgentiaque poterit, quo

missed his army, he resolves to go to Rome; yet has promised to return to me quickly in the quality of a Lieutenant; unless the Consuls should hold an assembly for the election of Prætors [6]. For in that case, I greatly encouraged him, who is so well disposed to the Republic, not to postpone his suit to another year. What he has done therefore ought to be agreeable to all, who look upon my troops, as the army of the Republic; and so much the more to you, as you defend our liberty with greater courage and glory than any man, and if our endeavours be crowned with the success, that we wish, are sure to reap a greater increase of dignity [7]. I beg of you also, my Cicero, in a peculiar and familiar manner, that you would love Vetulus, and promote his advancement, as much as you are able; who, though he cannot by any motive be deterred from his present purpose, may yet be excited by your praises and kindness, to per-

[6] Where *Vetus* intended to appear as a Candidate for the Prætorship. This passage shews, that the letter was written before *Brutus* had received the news of the battle of *Modena*, and the death of the two Consuls.

[7] I have followed here an emendation recommended by *Manutius* and *Lambinus*, and instead of *perfructurus* in the common Editions, which no body understands, have given *perfructurus* or *perfruiturus*: which verb is used with an accusative case, not only by the older writers, as *Plautus*, but by *Lucretius* of *Cicero's* own times.

omnia perfructus vitæ præmia, l. 3. 969.

magis amplectetur ac tueatur
judicium suum: & id mihi
gratissimum erit.

*severe and support his own judge-
ment with the greater zeal: and
by this you will very much oblige
me.*

EPISTOLA VII.

EPIST. VII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

MULTOS tibi commen-
davi, & commendem,
necesse est: optimus enim
quisque vir & civis maxi-
mè sequitur judicium tuum;
tibi que omnes fortes viri
navare operam & studium vo-
lunt: nec quisquam est, quin
ita existimet, meam apud te
& gratiam & auctoritatem
valere plurimum. Sed C. Na-
sennium, municipem Sueffa-
num, tibi ita commendo, ut
neminem diligentius. Cretensi
bello, Metello imperatore, oc-

I Have already recommended
many, and must necessarily
recommend many more to you.
For every one, in proportion as he
is the honestest man, and better
Citizen, declares himself the more
freely on your side; and all men of
courage are eager to exert their
pains and zeal in your service:
nor is there any of them, who is
not persuaded, that my interest and
authority are of the greatest weight
with you. But as to C. Nasen-
nius, of the Corporation of Sueffa
[1], I recommend him to you as
warmly, as ever I did any man.
In the Cretan war, he command-
ed the eighth century of the Prin-
cipes [2], under Metellus, the
tavum

[1] *Sueffa Pomatia*, once a flourishing City, and the Capital of the *Volsi*. There was another *Sueffa*, called *Arunca*; a colony of *Rome* in *Campania*.

[2] There were three classes of Soldiers in every legion, ranked according to their different ages of service: the first was of the *Hastati*; the second, of the *Principes*, and the third, of the *Triarii*. The two first classes were each divided into ten centuries or maniples: the first century of the *Hastati* was called, *Primus Hastatus*; the second *Secundus Hastatus*; and so on: the centuries of the *Principes*, were called likewise in the

tavum principem duxit: postea in re familiari occupatus fuit. Hoc tempore cum reipublicæ partibus, tum tua excellenti dignitate commotus, vellet per te aliquid auctoritatis assumere. Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo; frugi hominem; &, si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem. Pergratum mihi erit, si eum ita tractaris, ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere possit.

General [3]; and has been employed ever since in the care of his private affairs. But at this time moved by the cause of the Republic, and the excellence of your dignity, he would be glad to obtain some command under you. I recommend therefore to you, Brutus, a brave and worthy man; and if that be any thing to the purpose, a rich one also [4]. I shall take it very kindly, if you treat him in such a manner, as to give him reason to thank me, on the account of your favors to him.

E P I S T O L A VIII.

CICERO BRUTO, S,

QUUM hæc scribebam, res existimabatur in extremum adducta discrimen: tristes enim de Bru-

E P I S T. VIII.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

WHILE I was writing this, our affairs were supposed to be reduced to the last extremity [1]. For all our let-

the same manner, *Primus Princeps*, *Secundus Princeps*, &c. But the Body of the *Triarii* is generally thought to have been laid aside by *C. Marius*, and out of use therefore at this time, or reserved at least to the defence of their camps. Vid. *Car. d'Aquino Lexic. militar.*

[3] In this *Cretan* war, which had been ended about 23 years, the *Romans*, as *Florus* declares, [1. 3. 7.] were the aggressors; and from no other motive, but the desire of conquering so noble an Island; which after great cruelties exercised on the poor inhabitants, was finally reduced by *Metellus*, an old and able Commander; who obtained from it the surname of *Creticus*.

[4] See *Epist. 1st. Not. [6]*.

[1] By the siege of *Modena*, where the scene of action now lay; and where *D. Brutus*, if not presently relieved, must necessary have fallen into *Antony's* hands.

to nostro litteræ nuntiique adferebantur. Me quidem non maximè conturbabant: his enim exercitibus ducibusque, quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere: neque assentiebar majori parti hominum: fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat: desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem; quasi essent usque, jam pridem rempublicam recuperassemus. Non enim ignoras quanta momenta sint in republica temporum; & quid intersit, idem illud utrum antè, an post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur. Omnia, quæ severè decreta sunt hoc tumultu, si aut, quo die

ters and messages brought us sad accounts of our Brutus [2]. They did not however very much disturb me. For I could not by any means distrust the armies, and the leaders, who are now acting for us: nor was I of the same opinion with the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of the Consuls, which was vehemently suspected. I blamed their want of prudence and celerity in some cases, where if they had exerted themselves, we should long ago have recovered the Republic [3]. For you are not ignorant, of what moment it is in public affairs, to seize the proper times of acting: and what a difference it makes, whether the same thing be decreed, undertaken, or transacted sooner or later. If all the vigorous decrees, that have been made since the beginning of this disturbance, had either been carried into effect on the day,

dixi

[2] He gives the same account also in a letter to *Cassius*; the affair of *Molena*, says he, is reduced to the last extremity, for Brutus was hardly able to hold it out any longer. Ep. Fam. 12. 6.

[3] The Consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, had been the creatures and ministers of *Cæsar's* power; greatly entrusted by him in all his affairs, in which they served him with much fidelity. But after *Cæsar's* death, they declared themselves for the cause of liberty, and entered into *Cicero's* measures; with whom they kept up a strict correspondence. But their long engagements with the *Cæsarian* party had left in them some prejudices, that gave a check to their Patriotism; and disposed them, to act with more moderation towards their old friends, than the necessity of the times could allow; and to try the slow methods of negotiation, before they proceeded to the extremity of arms. It

dixi sententiam, perfecta essent, & non in diem ex die dilata ; aut quo ex tempore suscepta sunt ut agerentur, non tardata & procrastinata ; bellum jam nullum haberemus. Omnia, Brute, præstiti reipublicæ, quæ præstare debuit is, qui esset in eo, in quo ego sum gradu, senatus populique judicio collocatus : nec illa modò, quæ nimis sola ab homine sunt postulanda, fidem, vigilantiam, patriæ caritatem : ea sunt enim, quæ nemo est qui non præstare debeat. Ego autem ei, qui sententiam dicat in principibus de republica, puto etiam prudentiam esse præstandam : nec me, quum mihi tantum sumpserim, ut gubernacula reipublicæ prenderem, minùs putarim reprehendendum, si inutiliter aliquid senatui suaserim, quàm si infideliter. Acta quæ sint quæque agantur, scio perscribi

when I proposed them, and not put off from day to day ; or if, from the time, when they began to be put in execution, they had not still been delayed and postponed, we should have seen an end of the war before now. I have acquitted myself, Brutus, to the Republic in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by the judgement of the Senate and people, is placed in that rank of authority, in which I now am : and not merely in those things, which alone are to be required from man ; fidelity, vigilance, love of my country ; for these are duties, from which no body ought to be excused ; but I take it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the leaders in state affairs, to ensure even the prudence of his measures to the public : and for my part, since I have assumed so much to myself, as to take the steerage of the republic into my hands, I should not think myself less culpable, if I should draw the Senate into any thing impertinently, than if I had drawn them into it treacherously. I know, that a punctual account is sent you of all things, that are done or

was in this respect, that Cicero found reason to blame their want of prudence and vigor on particular occasions, but never to distrust the integrity of their general views. See *Life*, vol. 2. p. 337, 430, &c. it. see *Epist.* 4th. Note [9]. *Epist.* 9. Note [12].

illud

te diligenter. Ex me autem illud est, quod te velim habere cognitum; meum quidem animum in aciem esse, neque respectum ullum quærere, nisi me utilitas civitatis fortè converterit. Majores autem partes animi te Cassiumque respiciunt. Quamobrem ita te para, Brute, ut intelligas; aut si hoc tempore bene res gesta sit, tibi meliorem rempublicam esse faciendam: aut, siquid offensum sit, per te esse eandem recuperandam.

going forward amongst us. But what I would have you informed of particularly by me, is this; that my mind is wholly intent on the war; nor cares to attend to any other object; unless when the immediate service of the City may have called it by accident to something else [4]. But the greatest part of my attention is fixed upon you and Cassius. Wherefore prepare yourself, Brutus, in such a manner, as to be persuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs be crowned with success, it is you, who must set the Republic right; or if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you, who must recover it. [5].

EPIST. IX.

EPIST. IX.

M. T. C. M. BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Nostræ res meliore loco videbantur. Scripta enim ad te certo scio quæ gesta

OUR affairs seemed to have taken a more favourable turn [1]. For an account, I know, is sent you of all that has been done.

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B b b

sunt.

[4] Cicero had long foreseen, what every day's experience confirmed to him, that their hopes of liberty depended intirely on the success of their arms. So that all his measures and counsils were employed at this time in exhorting and engaging their Generals abroad, to unite themselves in the glorious cause of preserving their country, in this last struggle for their common liberty. See Life, vol. 2. p. 403.

[5] This was always Cicero's opinion, that whatever success they had, or how faithful soever their other Generals might prove, it was Brutus onely and Cassius, who were truly disposed to settle the republic again on it's right foundation.

[1] By the defeat of Antony before Modena: where a great part of his troops was beaten

funt. Quales tibi sæpè scripsi consules, tales exstiterunt. Cæsaris verò pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, quàm facile adhuc tenuimus! Est omnino illud difficilius: sed tamen non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, & maximè per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: & certè, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Tri-duo verò, aut quatruiduo ante hanc rem pulcherrimam, timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus &

done. The Consuls answered to the character, which I often gave you of them in my letters [2]. But young Cæsar has shewn a wonderful disposition to virtue. I wish, that I may be able to hold and govern him still, in this height of honor and favor, as easily, as I have hitherto done. It is now indeed become more difficult; yet I do not despair of it [3]. For the young man is persuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our safety to his vigor: and in truth, if he had not kept off Antony from the City, all had been lost [4].- Nay, within three or four days before this most happy event, the City, struck with a kind of panic, was all running away at once with their wives and

beaten by *Hirtius*, in a fierce engagement on the 15th of April: [Ep. Fam. l. 10. 30.] and within a day or two after, his whole army utterly routed by *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, while *D. Brutus* also, by sallying out of the Town, helped to complete the victory. *Cicero* omits to recite the particulars of these important actions, as knowing *Brutus* to be punctually informed of them from other hands.

[2] By shewing themselves sincere in the defence of the Republic, for which they had now sacrificed their lives.

[3] The loss of both the Consuls, in the two battels at *Modena*, which could not be foreseen or expected, destroyed at once the good effect of all *Cicero's* measures. For the veteran legions, which had hitherto acted under their command, refusing after their death to follow *D. Brutus*, chose *Octavius* for their General: who by this accession of power being placed above all controul, and made superior to any other force, which was now in *Italy*, thought it of no farther use to his affairs, to keep any measures with the Republican party, and began therefore to drop all regard to *Cicero's* counsils. *Cicero*, we see, was presently aware of this unhappy turn; and though he did not at first despair of holding *Octavius*, yet he found fresh reason every day to distrust him still more and more. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 432.

[4] See Epist. 5. Note [4].

liberis effundebat: eadem recreata a. d. XII. kalend. Maias te huc venire, quàm se ad te ire malebat. Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum multarumque vigiliarum fructum cepi maximum, si modò est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria. Nam tantæ multitudinis, quantum capit urbs nostra, concursus est ad me factus: ea cum usque in Capitolium deductus, tum maximo clamore atque plausu in rostris collocatus sum. Nihil est in me inane: neque

children to you [5]; till, being made easy again on the 20th of April [6], they began to wish, that you would rather come hither to them, than they go to you [7]. On which day, I reaped the full fruit of all my great pains and constant watchings; if there be any fruit at all from true and solid glory. For the whole multitude, which our City contains, flocked on that day to my house; whence I was carried by them first to the Capitol; then placed in the Rostra, with the loudest acclamations and applause [8]. There is nothing of vanity in me; nor in-

[5] The partisans of *Antony* at *Rome* were perpetually alarming the City, during the siege of *Modena*, with false rumors, that *Antony* had taken the Town, and *D. Brutus* in it; and that the Consuls had joined with him. It was some report of this kind, which had raised that general terror here mentioned, for three or four days before the news of *Antony's* defeat. [Philip. 14. 6.] Thus *Cicero* also in a letter to *Cassius*; *Brutus* is hardly able to hold out any longer at *Modena*. If he be preserved, we have conquered. If not, which the Gods avert, all people here will run away to you. Ep. Fam. 12. 6.

[6] The day, on which the news of the first victory arrived at *Rome*, in five days from *Modena*: which seems to have been the usual time for performing that journey, by an expeditious Courier. For *Cicero*, on another occasion, mentions an express received from *D. Brutus*, on the sixth day from the same place. Ep. Fam. 11. 6.

[7] From the apprehensions intimated above of the difficulty of governing *Octavius*, in his present height of power, *Cicero* begins here to drop the first hint, that *Brutus's* army might possibly be wanted in *Italy*; of which much more will be said in the following letters.

[8] That he might give them a distinct account of the particulars of the late victory. The *Rostra* being the usual place, whence the magistrates used to deliver, what they had to say to the people.

enim debet: sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum actio, gratulatioque me commovet; propterea quod popularem me esse in populi salute, præclarum est. Sed hæc te malo ab aliis audire: me velim de tuis rebus consiliisque facias diligentissimè certior: illudque consideres, ne tua liberalitas dissolutior videatur. Sic sentit senatus, sic populus Romanus; nullos unquam hostes digniores omni supplicio fuisse, quàm eos cives, qui hoc bello contra patriam arma ceperunt: quos quidem ego omnibus sententiis ulciscor & persequor, omnibus bonis approbantibus. Tu quid de hac re sentias, tui iudicii est. Ego sic sentio; trium fratrum unam & eandem esse causam. Consules duos, bonos quidem, sed duntaxat bonos, amisimus.

dead ought there to be: yet the consent of all orders, their thanks, and gratulations really move me; since it is truly noble, to become popular by the preservation of our people [9]. But I would have you hear of these things rather from others. I desire you, to send me a punctual account of all your affairs and designs; and to take care particularly, that your generosity may not seem to be carried to a degree of remissness [10]. The Senate is of opinion, and the Roman people of the same, that no enemies were ever more worthy of the last punishment, than those Citizens, who have taken up arms against their country in the present war. On whom indeed I am taking a proper revenge, and pursuing in all my votes, with the approbation of all honest men. It is your part to determine, what you ought to judge of this affair. My opinion of it is, that the case of the three Antony's is one and the same [11]. We have lost two Consuls; good ones, it is true; but

[9] The character of popularity generally implied something factious and bad in it; as being commonly acquired by an ambitious and prostitute adulation of the meaner people, for the sake of some private interests, in opposition to the public good. *Cicero* therefore distinguishes here the true species of it; the only one, that he affected; grounded on a real merit, and services to his country.

[10] This refers to *Brutus's* manner of treating his prisoner, *C. Antonius*, mentioned above. Epist. 2. Note [2]. Epist. 5. Note [13].

[11] See Epist. 5. Note [16].

Hirtius quidem in ipsa victoria occidit, cum paucis diebus magno prælio antè vicisset. Nam Pansa fugerat, vulneribus acceptis quæ ferre non potuit. Reliquias hostium Brutus persequitur, & Cæsar. Hostes autem omnes judicati, qui M. Antonii sectam secuti sunt: itaque id senatus consultum plerique interpretantur, etiam ad tuos sive captivos sive dediticios pertinere. Equidem nihil disceui durius, cum nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem; quod ita statueram, à te cognoscere causam ejus senatus

barely good [12.] Hirtius fell in the very midst of victory, after he had beaten the enemy a few days before in a great battel. For Pansa was forced to fly, being disabled by the wounds, which he had received [13]. Brutus is now pursuing the remains of the enemy, and Cæsar also [14]: but all are adjudged to be enemies, who have espoused the party of M. Antony. Most people therefore interpret that decree of the Senate, to extend also to your prisoners; whether taken in fight, or by surrender [15]. I moved indeed for nothing more severe, though I was speaking upon C. Antonius by name; because I had resolved with myself, that the Senate ought to

[12] This alludes to their want of prudence and vigor on some occasions, as is said above. Epist. 4. Note [9]. Epist. 8. Note [3].

[13] In the first battel, *Pansa* received two desperate wounds, and was carried off the field to *Bologna*; [Philip. 14. 9.] where he died, the night after the second battel. In which *Hirtius* was also killed, after he had got possession of *Antony's* Camp. See Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 427.

[14] This was said by conjecture only; being what *Cicero* took for granted: but it was soon after understood, that *Octavius* refused to pursue *Antony*, and that *D. Brutus* was in no condition to do it, till it was too late, for want of Horse, &c. Ep. Fam. 11. 13. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 437.

[15] This decree related principally to those, who were in arms against the Republic in *Italy*, yet was interpreted to extend to all, who were acting in the same cause, in any other part of the Empire. By which *Cicero* meant to admonish *Brutus*, of the indecency of treating *C. Antonius* with so much tenderness, who was now adjudged to be an enemy. For though *Antonius*, as is here hinted, was said to have surrendered himself; yet it was not, till his forces were utterly routed, and himself with the few that remained, enclosed in a morass, whence there was no possibility to escape. Plutar. Brut.

tum oportere. x. kalend. Mai- take their information of his case
as. from you. April 22d [16].

EPISTOLA X.

EPIST. X.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

AD. v. kalendas Maias
cùm de iis, qui hostes
judicati sunt, bello perfequen-
dis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit
Servilius etiam de Ventidio, &
ut Cassius perfequeretur Dola-
bellam. Cui cùm effem assen-
sus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu,

ON the 27th of April, when
we were debating on the
means of prosecuting the war a-
gainst those, who are adjudged to
be enemies, Servilius moved [1],
that Ventidius also should be in-
cluded in that number [2]; and
that Cassius should pursue Dola-
bella: to whom when I had as-
sented, I made this farther motion;

[16] The first battle of *Modena* happened on the 15th of April, according to *Galba's* account of it to *Cicero*; [Ep. Fam. 10. 30.] or on the 14th, according to *Ovid*; [Fast. 4.] and the news of it reached *Rome* on the 20th: on which occasion *Cicero* spoke his 14th *Philippic*, the day following; on the 21st: from which it appears, that they had not, at that time, heard any thing of the second battel; and of the death of the two Consuls: an account of which must necessarily have arrived to them, either on that very day, after the Senate was dismissed, or on the next, before *Cicero* wrote this letter, in which he mentions the death of the Consuls; if the present date of it be really the true one.

[1] *Servilius* appears from this account, to have changed his note, upon *Antony's* late defeat at *Modena*, and to have affected a peculiar zeal for the Republican cause.

[2] *Ventidius*, from the condition of a *Mule-driver*, as he is called by *Plancus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, [Ep. Fam. 1. 10. 18.] advanced himself to the highest honors of the state, both civil and military. He was the creature of *Antony*; to whose fortunes he had attached himself; and for whose service he had been employed for some time past, in gathering soldiers up and down in *Italy*; with which he was marching to join *Antony* before *Modena*; but not being able to come up to him, before his defeat, he had since joined him, in his flight towards the Alps, with three legions; for which he was declared an enemy by the Senate [Ep. Fam. 11. 13.] He seems to have been *Prætor* at this very time; but before the end of the year, was promoted to the Consulate, upon the resignation of *Cæsar Octavius*.

fi arbitrarere utile, eque republica esse, persequerere bello Dolabellam : si minus id commodò reipublicæ facere posses, siue non existimares è republica esse, ut in iisdem locis exercitum contineres. Nihil honorificentius potuit facere senatus, quàm ut tuum esset iudicium, quid maximè conducere reipublicæ tibi videretur. Equidem sic sentio, si manum habet, si castra, si ubi consistat uspiam Dolabella; ad fidem & ad dignitatem tuam pertinere eum persequi. De Cassii nostri copiis nihil sciebamur : neque enim ab ipso ullæ litteræ, neque nuntiabatur quidquam, quod pro certo haberemus. Quantopere autem interfit opprimi Dollabelam, profectò intelli-

that you also, if you thought it of use, and benefit to the Republic, should carry on the war against Dolabella; but if you could not do it with convenience to the public affairs, or did not think it for the public service, that you should keep your army in the same quarters, where you now are. The Senate could not decree any thing more honorable to you, than, that it should be left to you to determine, what was the most conducive to the service of the Republic. My opinion of the matter is this; that if Dolabella have any troops; any camp; any place, where he can make a stand; it concerns your character and dignity, to pursue him. As to our Cassius's forces, we knew nothing at all about them. For we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence, that we could depend upon as certain [3]. You are very sensible, of what importance it is, that Dolabella should be destroyed: not onely, that he

[3] Cicero does not here mean, that they had heard nothing at all about Cassius, since he left Italy; for Brutus and Lentulus, as we have seen above, had severally sent accounts to Rome, that he had got possession of Syria, and of all the Legions in it; and Cassius himself also had sent the same news to Cicero, by a letter dated March the 7th. [Ep. Fam. 12. 11.] But from the time of his being at the head of an army, they had not heard of any motion or action that he had performed with it. Thus Cicero in a letter to Cassius, dated two months after this to Brutus, says; *nothing has hitherto been heard of you, but endeavours onely; those indeed are great and noble; but we long to hear of some action.* Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

gis; cum ut sceleris pœnas persolvat; tum ne sit, quò se latronum duces ex Mutinensi fuga conferant. Atque hoc mihi jam antè placuisse, potes ex superioribus meis litteris recordari: quanquam tum & fugæ portus erat in tuis castris, & subsidium salutis in tuo exercitu: quo magis nunc liberati (ut spero) periculis, in Dolabella opprimendo occupati esse debemus. Sed hæc cogitabis diligentius, statues sapienter. Facies nos, & quid constitueris, & quid agas, (si tibi videbitur) certiores. Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium cooptari volo. Existimo omnino absentium rationem sacerdotum comitiis posse haberi: nam etiam factum est antea. C. enim Ma-

may suffer the punishment due to his treason; but that the chiefs of the rebels may not have a place to resort to, in their flight from Modena. That this was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my former letters [4]: though at that time, our only refuge was in your camp, and our hopes of safety in your army. Wherefore now, when we are delivered, as I hope, from all danger, we ought to be more intent on the ruin of Dolabella [5]. But this you will take into your serious consideration; and determine upon it what is most prudent; and will make me acquainted, as far as you think proper, with what you resolve to do, and what you are doing. I have a mind, that my Cicero should be made a member of your College [6]: and take it for granted, that in the election of priests, the absent are capable of being considered; since there are precedents for it. For C. Marius was made Augur

[4] This refers to some letters now lost.

[5] Cicero was of this opinion before the battle of Modena, and continued so for some little time after; imagining, that they were freed by that victory from all farther danger in Italy. Yet he soon changed his mind, from an unexpected change in their affairs. For their apprehensions from the East were presently at an end by the destruction of Dolabella, but were renewed more strongly than ever in the West, by Antony's union with Lepidus: from which era, Cicero began to press Brutus and Cassius in every letter, to come with their armies in all haste into Italy.

[6] That is, of the Pontifices, or minor Priests, in which there were several vacancies at this time. See Lett. 12.

rius, cum in Cappadocia esset, lege Domitia factus est augur: nec, quo minus id postea liceret, ulla lex sanxit. Est etiam in lege Julia, quæ lex est de sacerdotiis proxima, his verbis, QUI PETIT, CUJUSVE RATIO HABEBITUR: aperte indicat, posse rationem haberi, etiam non præsentis. Hac de re scripsi ad eum ut tuo judicio uteretur, sicut in rebus omnibus. Tibi autem statuendum est de Domitio, & de Catone nostro. Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentibus faciliora. Quod si statueris in Asiam tibi eundem, nulla erit ad comitia nostros arcessendi facultas. Omnino Pansa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus: statim enim collegam sibi subrogasset: deinde ante prætoriam sacerdotum comitia fuissent. Nunc per auspicia longam mo-

by the Domitian law, while he was in Cappadocia: nor has there been any law since that time, which forbids it. In the Julian law likewise, which is the last, relating to the Priesthoods, there are these words; he, who sues in person, or of whom a regard shall be had: which plainly shews, that regard may be had to one, who is not present. I wrote to him, that he should take your advice in this, as well as in all other affairs. But it is your business to determine, what Domitius [7], and our Cato are to do [8]. But though a regard may be had to the absent, yet all things are easier to the present. If you have resolved therefore to go into Asia [9], there will be no possibility of calling our friends away to the election. If Pansa had lived, all these affairs, I imagined, would have been dispatched much sooner. For he would quickly have provided himself a Collegue; and then brought on the election of Priests, before that of the Prætors. But now it will be a tedious business, I see, on account of the Auspices. For as

[7] Domitius was Nephew to Porcia, Brutus's wife. See Lett. 12. Note [4].

[8] Cicero, as we may collect from some hints in his letters, [ad Att. 13. 6.] was left a guardian by M. Cato to his Sons, of whom young Cato here mentioned was one; Cousin-german; as well as brother-in-law to Brutus; who was killed afterwards fighting, and refusing quarter in the battle of Philippi. Plut. in Brut.

[9] In the Pursuit of Dolabella.

ram video. Dum enim unus
erit patricius magistratus, au-
spicia ad patres redire non pos-
sunt: magna sane perturbatio.
Tu tota de re quid sentias, ve-
lim me facias certiozem. III.
nonas Maias. Vale.

*long as there is one Patrician Magis-
trate remaining, the Auspices can-
not return to the Fathers [10]. Our
affairs in truth are in great disor-
der. I desire you, to let me know your
sentiments on the whole state of the
case. May the 5th. Adieu.*

EPISTOLA XI.

EPIST. XI.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

QUANTA sim lætitia affectus,
cognitis rebus Bruti nos-
tri & consulum, facilius est
tibi existimare, quàm mihi
scribere. Cum alia laudo, &
gaudeo accidisse, tum quòd
Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi

HOW great a joy it gave
me, to hear of the success
of our Brutus, and the Consuls, it
is easier for you to imagine, than
me to express. I am pleased and
rejoice on several accounts, but
particularly on this; that Brutus's
sally was not onely salutary to him-

[10] The right of taking the *Auspices*, which was necessary in all the elections of the principal magistrates, and all other transactions of importance, was lodged in the Consuls, and the *Patrician* magistrates. But when there happened to be no Consul, or *Patrician* magistrate, as in some factious times, when the annual magistracies expired, before the new elections could be made; then the *Auspices* fell into the hands, not of the Senate in general, but of the *Patrician Senators* onely, who chose an *Interrex* out of their own body, to preside in all affairs of the City, till the regular magistrates were again elected. The Consuls therefore being dead, in whom *Cicero* confided, and the *Auspices* not yet devolved to the *Patrician Senators*, whom *Cicero* might have influenced by his authority; the Prætor *Cornutus*, who was now the supreme and governing Magistrate, and does not seem to have been wholly at *Cicero's* devotion, had it in his power, by the management of the *Auspices*, to give no small trouble in the election of *Priests*, as by the same power he had put off, for one day, the debate, mentioned Letter the 4th, on the affairs of *Plancus*. [See Ep. Fam. 10. 12, 15.] *Cicero* therefore, foreseeing the difficulties, that might possibly arise in this election, where his son and the other young Noblemen in *Brutus's* Camp were to be Candidates, got it postponed to the next year, by his great authority in the Senate, on account of the present confusion of the public affairs, as we shall see in letter the 20th, Note [3].

salu-

salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Quod scribis, *trium Antoniorum unam atque eandem causam esse; Et quid ego sentiam mei iudicii esse*: statuo nihil, nisi hoc: Senatus aut populi Romani iudicium esse de iis civibus, qui pugnantes non interierint. At hoc ipsum, inquires, inique facis, qui hostilis animi in rempublicam homines, cives appelles. Immo iustissime. Quod enim nondum senatus censuit, nec populus Romanus iussit, id arroganter non præjudico, neque revoco ad arbitrium

self, but of the greatest service towards completing the victory [1]. As to what you write; that the case of the three Antony's is one and the same, and that it is my part to determine, what I ought to judge of it [2]: I lay down no other rule to myself, but this; that it is the right of the Senate and people of Rome, to pass judgement on those Citizens, who have been taken fighting against us. But I am to blame, you will say, for giving the title of Citizens to those, who bear an hostile disposition to the Republic. Yes, I do it with the greatest justice. For where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people commanded anything, there I neither arrogantly take upon

[1] *Brutus*, in signifying his joy for the victory, omits, we see, to mention the name of *Octavius*, or to give him any share in it; and affects even to ascribe the principal part to *D. Brutus*, who had utterly been lost, if the Consuls and *Octavius* had not conquered; and whose power of breaking out of the Town, was the effect rather, than the cause of their victory. Nor does he take any notice, or intimate the least concern for the death of the Consuls, whose intentions he had always suspected: yet that unhappy and unexpected accident was the primary and most effectual cause not onely of his ruin, but of the final oppression of the liberty of *Rome*.

[2] These are *Cicero's* words in Letter the 9th; to which *Brutus* now answers with some little resentment, to see his treatment of *Antonius* condemned by *Cicero*. But the event shewed that *Cicero* judged right, and that *Brutus's* lenity was wholly imprudent towards enemies, who had no other design than to overturn the Republic, and destroy all those, who defended it. I have inserted the copulative [*et*] into the Latin text, though not found in any of the Editions: since it seems necessary to connect the two branches of the sentence; or the two distinct points, which *Cicero* had mentioned in his letter, and to which *Brutus* here gives a particular answer. As to the remaining part of the letter, in which *Brutus* reproves him for conferring honours too profusely on *Octavius*; the reader may see that whole case considered, and *Cicero* vindicated from any blame on that account; and in *the Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 429; 471, &c

meum. Illud quidem non muto; quod ei, quem me occidere res non coegit, neque crudeliter quidquam eripui, neque dissolute quidquam remis, habuique in mea potestate quoad bellum fuit. Multo quidem honestius iudico, magisque quod concedere possit respublica, miserorum fortunam non insectari, quàm infinitè tribuere potentibus, quæ cupiditatem & arrogantiam incendere possint. Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihi que merito & meo nomine & reipublicæ carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuæ; statimque, ut quisque aliquid rectè fecerit, omnia dare ac permittere. Quasi non liceat traduci ad mala consilia corruptum largitionibus animum. Quæ tua est humanitas, æquo animo te moneri patieris, præsertim de communi salute: facies tamen quod tibi visum fuerit: etiam ego, cùm me

myself to prejudge, nor to impose my will as a law. Nor have I changed my mind with regard to that person; from whom, when I was under no necessity of killing him, I neither took away any thing cruelly, nor remitted any thing idly, but kept him in my power, as long as the war continued [3]. I take it to be much the more decent part, and what the Republic would more easily allow to us, not to persecute the fortunes of the miserable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerful, which tend to inflame their ambition and arrogance. In respect to which, Cicero, thou best and bravest of men, and of all, most justly dear to me, both upon my own and the public account, you seem to trust too much to your hopes; and as soon as any one happens to have done what is right, immediately to grant and give up every thing to him. As if a mind corrupted by extravagant concessions, could not be drawn to abuse them to ill purposes. Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill to be admonished; especially where the public safety is at stake. You will go on however to act, as you shall judge for the best; and so too will I, whenever

[3] By Antony's defeat and flight out of Italy, Brutus seems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to dismiss his prisoner Antonius, or to send him to Rome, that his case might be determined by the Senate.

docueris. Nunc, Cicero, nunc hoc agendum est, ne frustra oppressum esse Antonium gravifi simus; neu semper primi cujusque mali excidendi [ratio,] causa sit, ut aliud renascatur illo pejus. Nihil jam neque opinantibus aut patientibus nobis adversi evenire potest, in quo non cum omnium culpa, tum precipue tua futura sit: cujus tantam auctoritatem senatus ac populus Romanus non solum esse patitur, sed etiam cupit, quanta maxima in libera civitate unius esse potest: quam tu non solum bene sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter, tueri debes. Prudentia porro, quæ tibi superest, nulla abs te desideratur, nisi modus intribuendis honoribus. Alia omnia sic adfunt; ut cum quolibet antiquorum comparari possint. Unum hoc, grato animo liberalique profectum, cautiorem ac moderatiorem liberalitatem desiderat. Nihil enim senatus

you will instruct me. Now is the time, Cicero; now the time for us to act so, that we may not rejoice in vain for Antony's ruin; nor, by our method of extirpating the first evil, give occasion to another, still worse to sprout up [4]. Nothing bad can now happen to us, either through our inadvertency or permission, without some fault in us all; but especially in you; whose authority the Senate and people of Rome not onely suffer, but desire to see as great, as can possibly be allowed to any single man in a free state: which it is your business to maintain, by recommending not onely honest, but prudent measures. Nor is any other prudence required from you for the time to come, but a moderation in conferring honors. All other virtues are so eminent in you, that you may be compared with any of the antients. This one part, which flows from a gratefull and generous mind, requires a more cautious and temperate generosity. For the Senate ought to grant no-

[4] The Syntax is here somewhat imperfect; nor do the MSS or Critics afford any help to amend it. The word *ratio*, or something of the same import, seems to have been dropt by the transcribers, on account of the following word, *causa*, which they might fancy perhaps sufficient to complete the sense.

cuiquam dare debet, quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut præfidio sit. Itaque timeo de consulatu; ne Cæsar tuus altius se adscendisse putet decretis tuis, quàm inde, si consul factus sit, adscensurum. Quòd si Antonius ab alio relictum regni instrumentum occasionem regnandi habuit: quonam animo fore putas, si quis, auctore, non tyranno interfecto, sed ipso senatu, putet se imperia quælibet concupiscere posse? Quare tum & felicitatem & providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere cœpero, Cæsarem honoribus quos acceperit extraordinariis fore contentum. Alienæ igitur, inquires, culpæ me reum facies?

thing to any man, that may either be an example, or a support to the disaffected. I am in pain therefore about the Consulship: lest this Cæsar of yours should think himself raised higher already by your decrees, than it would be, from his present height, to be advanced still to a Consul [5]. For if Antony took the ensigns of royalty, left to him by another, for an occasion of making himself our King; in what disposition, think you, will he be, who by the authority, not of the Tyrant, whom we have killed, but of the Senate itself, imagines himself encouraged to pretend to what power soever he pleases? Wherefore I shall then at last applaud your felicity and prudent foresight; when I begin to know for certain, that Cæsar will be content with the extraordinary honors, which he has hitherto received. Will you make me answerable then, you will say, for another man's

[5] I have followed in this place an emendation of P. Manutius; of reading *adscensurum*, instead of *descensurum*, which is found in the printed Editions. Brutus, on the account of the great power, of which Octavius was now possessed, by the unexpected death of the two Consuls, was afraid, that he would aspire even to the Consulate; which, at his age, was an ambition so extravagant, as to be little less than the affectation of a Tyranny. His meaning therefore in this passage, is this; *I am afraid, lest he should aim at the Consulship, and, after he has been raised so high by your decrees, should think it an easy step to mount from that height into the Consulate, and the grant of it consequently a less extraordinary favor, than what he has already received from you.* The common reading perplexes the sentence, and gives a turn quite foreign to Brutus's meaning.

Prorsus alienæ, si provideri potuit, ne existeret: quod utinam inspectare possis timorem de illo meum! His litteris scriptis, te consulem factum audivimus: tum verò incipiam proponere mihi rempublicam justam & jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Filius valet, & in Macedoniam cum equitatu præmissus est. Idibus Maiis, ex castris.

fault? Yes surely, as far as it might have been foreseen, and prevented. I wish, that you could look into the fears, which I conceive in my breast about him. After I had written this letter, we heard, that you were made Consul, If ever I see that day, I shall then begin to form to myself the true figure of a Republic, subsisting again upon its own Strength. Your Son is in good health, and is sent before me into Macedonia, with the horse. May the 15th, from my Camp.

EPISTOLA XII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

L. Bibulus quàm carus mihi esse debeat, nemo melius judicare potest quàm tu, cujus tantæ pro republica contentiones sollicitudinesque fuerunt. Itaque vel ipsius virtus vel nostra necessitudo debet conciliare te illi: quo minus multa mihi scribenda esse arbi-

EPIST. XII.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

HOW dear L. Bibulus ought to be to me [1], after so many struggles and anxieties, which he has sustained for the Republic, no man is better able to judge, than you. Wherefore either his own virtue, or our friendship ought sufficiently to recommend him to you; so as to make it needless for me, I imagine, to employ many words.

[1] This L. Bibulus was the Son of M. Bibulus, Caesar's Collegue in his first Consulship, by Porcia, Cato's daughter, now wife to Brutus; who does not recommend him here, for the sake of his near relation to him, but for his eminent zeal and services to the Republic.

tror. Voluntas enim te movere debet nostra, si modò justa est, aut pro officio necessario suscipitur. In Pansa locum petere constituit: eam nominationem à te petimus: neque conjunctiori dare beneficium quàm nos tibi sumus, neque digniorem nominare potes quàm Bibulum. De Domitio & Apuleio quid attinet me scribere, cùm ipsi per se tibi commendatissimi sint; Apuleium verò tu tua auctoritate sustinere debes. Sed Domitius in sua epistola celebrabitur. Bibulum noli dimittere ex sinu tuo tantum

For my desire surely deserves to have weight with you, provided it be just, or excited by a necessary duty. He resolves to sue for the Priesthood, in Pansa's place. We beg that nomination from you [2]. You cannot grant this favor to one, more strictly united with you, than I am; nor name a person, more worthy of it than Bibulus. What occasion have I to say any thing of Domitius, and Apuleius; who, on their own account, possess so great a share of your esteem? As for Apuleius, you ought to support him with your authority [3]. But Domitius's pretensions will be set forth in his own Epistle [4]. Do not fail however to admit Bibulus

jam

[2] *The Priesthoods of Rome* were usually filled by persons of the first dignity. [pr. Dom. 1.] The *Rex Sacrorum*; the three principal *Flamines*; and the *Salii*, were necessarily to be *Patricians*: the rest were, one moiety *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. [pr. Dom. 14.] They were chosen for life, by a part onely of the Tribes, called for that purpose by lot, and upon the nomination of one or two of the *Priestly College*. [Philip. 2. 2. Agrar. 2. 7.] and were inaugurated into their office by one of the *Augurs*. [Phil. 2. 43.] It was a place in the College of *Pontifices*, or *minor Priests*, that *Bibulus* was now suing for—but the Priests in general had great prerogatives and influence in public affairs; especially in cases of religion, in which they were the sole judges, which made these places eagerly sought for by the nobility.

[3] There was one *P. Apuleius*, a Tribune of the people at this time, and one of *Cicero's* warmest friends. [Phil. 6. 1. 14. 6.] There was *M. Apuleius* also, now with *Brutus* in *Macedonia*; and recommended to the Senate by *Cicero*, as greatly instrumental in bringing over the *Macedonian* army from *C. Antonius*; and this probably was the person here mentioned, as a Candidate for the Priesthood. Phil. 10. 11.

[4] *Domitius* was of the first nobility, Grandson to *Cato* by his mother, and the Son of that *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, nominated by the Senate for a successor to *Cæsar*, in his government of *Gaul*; and who made the first stand against him at *Corfinium*, in the beginning of the civil war. The printed Editions at this place give us, [*sed Apulei-*

jam virum, ex quanto, crede *into your confidence; who is already,*
 mihi, potest evadere, qui ves- *take my word for it, so accom-*
 tris paucorum respondeat lau- *plished a man, that he bids fair to*
 dibus. *merit the honor of being ranked,*
amongst the few of your class.

EPISTOLA XIII.

EPIST. XIII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

NO W expectare dum *DO not expect now, that I*
 tibi gratias agam: jam- *should pay you my thanks*
 pridem hoc ex nostra necessi- *[1]: those ought long ago to be*
 tudine, quæ ad summam bene- *banished from our friendship;*
 volentiam pervenit, sublatum *which is arrived to the utmost de-*

&c. but as *Brutus*, from the turn of the sentence, seems to make a distinction here between the case of *Apuleius*, whom he had mentioned immediately before, and of *Domitius*; and as some MSS are said to have, *Domitius*, instead of *Apuleius*; I have chosen that reading as the more probable.

[1] These thanks were due for that decree, made in favor of *Brutus*, at *Cicero's* motion, the 27th of April; of which *Cicero* sent him word, in Letter the 10th. *Plancus* begins a letter with the same turn, though expressed with more politeness. "I cannot forbear thanking you for every particular instance of your favors to me. But my duty, I do it with some shame. For so great an intimacy, as you have been pleased to allow between you and me, does not seem to want the office of thanks. Nor am I willing to discharge myself so cheaply, of my extraordinary obligations to you, as by the poor return of words, &c." [Ep. Fam. 10. 24.] *D. Brutus* likewise begins a letter with a sentiment of a similar kind. "I now no longer give you thanks. For since I can hardly ever requite you sufficiently by my acts, it is not possible for me to do it by words." [ib. 11. 13.] *Cicero* however would have been better pleased if *Brutus* had really thanked him, and might have answered probably as he did to *Plancus*. "Though I did not desire any thanks from you, since I know, both from experience and your own disposition, that you are of all men the most gratefull, yet (for I cannot help confessing it) they were very agreeable to me." [ib. 10. 19. Vid. Hen. Steph. Schedias. l. 3. 19.] for *Cicero*, as we shall see below, had observed a particular coldness in *Brutus's* letters, with regard to his acts; as if he studiously avoided to signify any approbation of them; and he had given *Brutus* perhaps some hint of it, which is here alluded to.

esse debet. Filius tuus à me
 abest: in Macedonia congregemur: jussus est enim Ambracia ducere equites per Thessaliam, & scripsi ad eum ut mihi Heracleam occurreret. Cum eum videro, quoniam nobis permittis, communiter constituemus de reditu ejus ad petitionem, aut ad commendationem honoris. Tibi Glycona, medicum Panfæ, qui sororem Achilleos nostri in matrimonio habet, diligentissimè commendando: audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Panfæ, custodiri que ut parricidam: nihil minus credendum est: quis enim majorem calamitatem morte Panfæ accepit? præterea est modestus homo & frugi; quem ne utilitas qui-

gree of affection. Your son is at a distance from me; but we shall meet again in Macedonia. For he is ordered to lead the Horse from Ambracia, through Thessaly; and I have written to him to come to me at Heraclea. As soon as I see him, we will settle the matter together, since you leave it to us, about his return to prosecute his petition, or to recommend it to the next occasion [2]. I recommend to you, in the most pressing manner, Panfa's Physician, Glyco; whose wife is sister to our Achilles [3]. We hear, that he is fallen under some suspicion with Torquatus [4], about Panfa's death; and is kept in chains as a Parricide [5]. Nothing can be more incredible: for who has suffered a greater calamity by Panfa's death than he? besides, he is a modest, worthy man, whom no motive even

[2] Brutus's meaning seems to be this, as it is explained by Manutius; that young Cicero, by his return to Rome, might prosecute his suit for the Priesthood, if, in the present confusion of their affairs, the magistrates should think fit to make an election; or if they postponed it, might recommend his interests in such a manner, as to make it needless for him to return again on the same account.

[3] He was one of Brutus's Greek friends; eminent probably for his learning and merit; and on that account well known to Cicero, as appears by the appellation of our Achilles: for Brutus constantly entertained in his house many Greeks of that character. Plut. in Brut.

[4] Torquatus was Quæstor to the Consul Panfa. Appian. Bell. Cic. l. 2. 571.

[5] Glyco was suspected to have been bribed by Octavius, to poison Panfa's wounds. Suet. August. c. 11. Tac. Ann. 1. 10. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 432.

dem videatur impulsura fuisse ad facinus. Rogo te, & quidem valde rogo (nam Achilles noster non minus, quàm æquum est, laborat) eripias eum ex custodia, conservesque. Hoc ego ad meum officium privatarum rerum æquè atque ullam aliam rem pertinere arbitrator. Cùm has ad te scriberem litteras, ab Satrio legato C. Trebonii reddita est mihi epistola à Tullio & Dejotaro, Dolabellam cæsum fugatumque esse. Græcam epistolam tibi misi Cycherei cujusdam, ad Satrium missam. Flavius noster de controversia, quam habet cum Dyrrachinis hereditariam, sumpsit te judicem: rogo te, Cicero, & Flavius rogat, rem conficias: quin ei, qui Flavium fecit heredem, pecuniam debuerit civitas, non est dubium; neque Dyrrachini in-

of gain seems likely to have engaged in any villainous act. I beg of you, and beg it indeed very earnestly, that you would release him out of prison, and preserve him: for our Achilles, as it is reasonable to imagine, lays it not a little to heart. I take this to relate, as much as any thing whatever, to my duty, with respect to my private affairs. While I was writing this, a letter was delivered to me by Satrius, Lieutenant to Trebonius, from Tullius and Dejotarus [6]; signifying, that Dolabella was routed and put to flight. I have sent you a Greek letter also of one Cychereus, written to Satrius. Our Flavius [7] has chosen you the Umpire in the dispute, which he has with the people of Dyrrhachium, about an estate, that was left to him. I desire it of you, Cicero, and Flavius does the same, that you would put an end to the affair. There is no doubt, but that the City owed money to the man, who made Flavius his heir; nor do the Dyrra-

[6] Tullius Cimber was one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, and now Proprætor of Bithynia. [Dio. l. 47. p. 345. Plut. in Brut.] Dejotarus was King of Galatia, a faithful Ally of the Republic, and deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions for his adherence to Pompey. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 215.

[7] C. Flavius was Commander of the artillery with Brutus, in Macedonia, and his intimate friend; upon the news of whose death, as well as of Laber's, in the battle of Philippi, Brutus is said to have expressed a particular concern. Plutar.

fitiantur: sed sibi donatum
 æs alienum à Cæsare dicunt.
 Noli pati à necessariis tuis ne-
 cessario meo injuriam fieri.
 xviii. kalend. Jun. ex castris ad
 imam Candaviam.

chians deny it; but plead, that all
 their debts were remitted to them
 by Cæsar. Do not suffer your
 friend [8] to do an act of injust-
 ice to my friend. May 16th,
 from my Camp in the lower Can-
 davia [9].

E P I S T O L A XIV.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

Scripta & obsignata jam e-
 pistola, litteræ mihi reddi-
 tæ sunt à te, plenæ rerum nova-
 rum: maximeque mirabile, Do-
 labellam quinque cohortes mi-
 sisse in Cherronesum. Adeone
 copiis abundat, ut is, qui ex Asia
 fugere dicebatur, Europam ap-
 petere conetur? Quinque autem
 cohortibus quidnam se factu-
 rum arbitratus est, cum tu eo
 quinque legiones, optimum e-
 quitatum, maxima auxilia ha-
 beres? quas quidem cohortes
 spero jam tuas esse, quoniam

E P I S T. XIV.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

After I had written and
 sealed up my letter, I re-
 ceived one from you; full of strange
 news. What surprised me, the
 most in it, was; that Dolabella
 had sent five cohorts into the Cher-
 sonese [1]. Does he abound then so
 much in troops, that he, who was
 said to be flying out of Asia [2],
 is in condition to make attempts
 upon Europe? But what can he
 think to do there with five cohorts
 [3]; where you have already five
 legions; with an excellent body of
 horse, and a large number of au-
 xiliaries? Yet since that Traitor
 has been so mad, I hope, that the

[8] The City of *Dyrrachium* had always been protected by Cicero, and was attached particularly to his interests. Ep. Fam. 14. 3. ad Att. 3. 22.

[9] A mountainous country dividing *Macadonia* from *Illyricum*.

[1] The Thracian Chersonese upon the Hellespont.

[2] See Epist. 4th.

[3] Five Cohorts made but half a Legion.

latro ille tam fuit demens. Tum consilium vehementer laudo, quòd non priùs exercitum Apollonia Dyrrachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Itaque, quòd scribis, *postea statuiffe te ducere exercitum in Cherronesum, nec pati, sceleratissimo hosti ludibrio esse imperium populi Romani, facis ex tua dignitate, & è republica.* Quòd scribis de seditione, quæ facta est in legione quarta, de C. Antonio, (in bonam partem accipies) magis mihi probatur militum severitas, quàm tua. Te benevolentiam exercitus equitumque expertum vehementer gaudeo. De Dolabella, ut scribis,

five cohorts are by this time yours. I highly applaud your resolution, of not removing your army from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, before you had heard of Antony's flight; Brutus's eruption; and the victory of the Roman people [4]. As to what you write therefore, that you have since resolved to lead your army into the Cherronesus, nor to suffer the Empire of Rome to be insulted by a most wicked enemy; you do what is agreeable to your dignity, and to the public service. As to the Sedition, which was made, as you write, in the fourth legion, about C. Antonius; you will take what I say in good part; I am better pleased with the severity of the Soldiers, than with yours. I am extremely glad, that you have had such a trial of the affection of your army, and of the horse [5]. As

si

[4] Brutus had kept his army on the coast opposite to Italy, till he saw the event of things at Modena; that he might be in readiness, to support his friends at Rome, if occasion had required. But upon Antony's defeat and flight, he thought himself at liberty, to march away into Macedonia, and repress the insults of Dolabella. This also was Cicero's first advice, from an apprehension, that Dolabella, if not speedily quelled, might grow dangerous to them in those parts. But upon the unhappy turn of their affairs at home, by the death of the Consuls, and the accounts received from abroad, that Dolabella was in no condition to give any trouble in the East, Cicero began to press Brutus and Cassius in every letter, to bring their armies with all speed into Italy, as the only thing that could save the Republic.

[5] C. Antonius, by the benefit of Brutus's indulgence to him, found means to tamper with his troops, so as to raise a Sedition amongst them, from which he hoped to find an opportunity of putting himself again at their head. But Brutus by a timely discovery of the design, prevented the effects of it: and the Soldiers themselves, being brought to

a sense

si quid habes novi, facies me certiore: in quo valde delector, me antè providisse, ut tuum iudicium liberum esset cum Dolabella belli gerendi: & id valde pertinuit, ut ego tum intelligebam, ad rempublicam; ut nunc iudico, ad dignitatem tuam, Quod scribis, me maximo otio egisse ut insectarer Antonios, idque laudas: credo ita videri tibi: sed illam distinctionem tuam nullo pacto probo. Scribis enim, *acrius prohibenda bella civilia esse, quam in superatos iracundiam exercendam.* Vehementer à te, Brute, dissentio; nec clementiæ tuæ concedo; sed salutaris severitas vincit in-

to Dolabella, if you have any thing new concerning him, you will send me an account of it, as you promise: with relation to whom, I am much delighted, that I have taken care beforehand, that the prosecution of the war against him should be left to your discretion [6]. For that, as I then imagined, was of importance to the Republic, and, as I now judge, to your honor. As to what you write, that I have managed so, as to be able to pursue the Antony's much at my ease, for which you commend me: I suppose you really think so: but I do not by any means approve your distinction, where you say; that our zeal should be employed rather, in preventing civil wars, than in exerting our revenge on the vanquished [7]. I differ widely from you, Brutus; not that I yield to you in point of clemency; but a salutary severity is

a sense of their rashness, by Brutus's prudent management, killed the authors of the disturbance, and demanded the *Quæstor* and *Lieutenants of Antonius*, to be delivered into their hands: but Brutus, on pretence of ordering them to be thrown into the sea, sent them to be kept safely on Ship-board; and leaving Antonius a prisoner still in *Apolonia*, under the custody of C. Clodius, marched away towards the *Chersonese*, in pursuit of Dolabella. Dio. l. 47—340.

[6] This was decreed by the Senate, on the 27th of April, upon Cicero's motion, as he signifies to Brutus, in Letter 10th.

[7] This citation from one of Brutus's letters now lost, is somewhat similar to what we find in letter 11th, where Brutus calls it *a more decent part, and what the Republic would more easily allow, not to persecute the fortunes of the miserable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerfull, &c.*

anem speciem clementiæ. Quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia. Sed de hoc tu videris. De me possum idem quod Plautinus pater in Trinummo: *mibi quidem ætas acta ferme est: tua istuc refert maxime.* Opprimemini, (mihi crede,) Brute, nisi provideritis. Neque enim populum semper eundem habebitis, neque senatum, neque senati ducem. Hæc ex oraculo Apollinis Pythii edita tibi puta: nihil potest esse verius, XIV. kalend. Jun.

always preferable to a vain ostentation of mercy. If we are fond of being mercifull, there will be no end of civil wars. But it is your business to look to that: for as to myself, I can say, what Plautus's old man says, in the Trinummus; life is almost over with me, it is you, who are the most interested in it [8]. You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if you do not take care: for you will not always have the people, nor the Senate, nor a leader of the Senate, the same as now. Take this as delivered to you from the Pythian Oracle: nothing can be more true. May 18th [9].

EPISTOLA XV.

EPIST. XV.

BRUTUS ATTICO, S.

BRUTUS to ATTICUS.

Scribis mihi; mirari Ciceronem, quòd nihil significem unquam de suis actis. Quoniam

YOU write me word, that Cicero wonders, why I never take any notice of his acts effragi-

[8] He has expressed the same sentiment, in one of his letters to Atticus; *mibi quidem βεβιωται; viderint Iuvenes.* [Ep. ad. 14. 21.] for he was now in his sixty-fourth year.

[9] This letter, in the common Editions, is dated, *xiv Kal. Maii*, or 17th of April. But there are two passages in it, which shew that date to be false. First, the mention of the second battel of *Modena* and *Antony's flight*: the news of which did not reach Rome till the 22d of April. [See Lett. 9. Note 16.] Secondly, the reference to a decree mentioned in Letter 10th, which was made in favor of *Brutus* at *Cicero's* motion.

efflagitas, coactu tuo scribam quæ sentio. Omnia fecisse Ciceronem optimo animo, scio: quid enim mihi exploratius esse potest, quàm illius animus in rempublicam? Sed quædam mihi videtur, (quid dicam?) imperitè, vir omnium prudentissimus; an ambitiose fecisse; qui valentissimum Antonium suscipere pro republica non dubitarit inimicum? Nescio quid scribam tibi, nisi unum; pueri & cupiditatem & licentiam potius esse irritatam, quam repressam à Cicerone: tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiæ, ut se maledictis non absti-

[1]. *Since you require it then, and extort it from me, I will tell you, what I think of them. That Cicero has done every thing with the best intention, I certainly know. For what can I possibly be more assured of, than of his disposition towards the Republic? yet some things he seems to have done; what shall I say? imprudently? of a man, of all others, the most prudent? or ambitiously? of one, who, for the sake of the Republic, has not scrupled to declare war against all the power of Antony? I am at a loss what to write; except this one thing; that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy have been encouraged, rather than repressed by Cicero [2]: and that he carries his indulgence of him so far, as not to abstain even from*

on the 27th of April. As it is a common mistake therefore of transcribers, to put one month inadvertently for another in the dates of letters, which we see frequently exemplified in the copies of Cicero's letters, so I have taken the liberty to alter the month in this date, in order to make it correspond with the facts above mentioned, and instead of *xiv Kal. Maii*, have put *xiv Kal. Jun.* or *18th of May*, which will solve all the objections that are made to the letter itself. Vid. Tunst. Epist. p. 217, &c.

[1] While Cicero was exerting all his pains and authority at Rome, to support the tottering Republic, and making it his particular care, to strengthen the hands of Brutus and Cassius, he was surprized to see Brutus so reserved in his letters on that head, and studiously avoiding to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was something in them, that displeased him. Atticus therefore, as a common friend, had been employed, we may imagine, to sound him on this occasion, and to learn the cause of his secret disgust: which produced this answer from Brutus.

[2] The general charge and the onely one indeed, which Brutus urges in this, as well as his other letters, against Cicero's conduct, is, that he was the Author of throwing that power into Octavius's hands, by which he was enabled at last to over-turn the Republic. But the reader may see the merit of this charge fully considered, and Cicero vindicated from it; *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 471.

neat;

neat; iis quidem quæ in ipsam dupliciter recidunt; quod & plures occidit uno, seque prius oportet fateatur sicarium, quam obijciat Cascæ quod obijcit, & imitetur in Casca Bestiam. An quia non omnibus horis jactamus idus Martias, similiter at-

approbrious language [3]; and such, as reflect doubly upon himself: since he has taken away the life of more than one [4]; and must first confess himself to be an assassin, before he can reproach Casca, with what he objects to him; and treat Casca, as Bestia once treated him [5]. Or because we are not boasting every moment of the Ides of March,

[3] This refers to some words, that had passed between Cicero and Casca, one of the Conspirators, who gave the first blow to Caesar, yet was Tribune of the people at this very time, by virtue of Caesar's nomination. The passage seems to imply, that Cicero had reproached him for killing Caesar, and called him an Assassin. But that is incredible; since Cicero, on all occasions, as well in public speeches, as private letters, never failed to extoll that act, as the most glorious that was ever executed: and with regard to this very Casca, had refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but upon the express condition, that he would be a friend to the Conspirators; and as a proof of it, would suffer Casca, in consequence of Caesar's nomination, to enter into quiet possession of the Tribuneate. [Ep. ad Att. 16. 13.] Brutus therefore, who was now in Macedonia, had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with some consequential meaning of his words, which was never intended by him. He had been admonishing Casca possibly to carry himself with more moderation towards Octavius, lest, by the advantage of his present power, he might take occasion to treat him as an assassin, and put the laws in execution against him, as he did quickly after against all the Conspirators, for such an admonition would have been sufficient with one of Brutus's fierce spirit, to make him consider it, as a direct condemnation of Casca's act. [See 'Life' of Cic. vol. 2. p. 487. Notes.] But if we reflect on the miserable waste, that has been made in these letters, of which there are but twenty-three now left, out of eight original books; and that there were three books likewise to Octavius; three more to Pansa, and eight to Hortius; [Vid. Fragm. Ciceron. apud Andr. Patric.] all relating to the same times; and all now destroyed; it cannot be thought strange, that some few facts should be touched in these fragments, which cannot readily be accounted for; when we have lost all the helps, that were the most likely to explain them; and which in all probability had actually explained them.

[4] In Catiline's plot; for which he put five of the principal Conspirators to death; Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, Caperius.

[5] L. Calpurnius Bestia was a Tribune of the people, at the expiration of Cicero's Consulship; supposed to have been deeply engaged in Catiline's conspiracy; and when Cicero laid down his office, joined with his Colleague, Metellus, in prohibiting him from speaking to the people: and was ever after a perpetual enemy and avenger of his administration. Vid. Sallust. c. 43. Plutar. in Cic.

que ille nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore conditione Cicero pulcherrimum factum vituperabit, quàm Bestia & Clodius reprehendere illius consulatum soliti sunt? Sustinuisse mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster: quid hoc mihi prodest, si merces Antonii oppressi poscitur in Antonii locum successio; & si vindex illius mali auctor existit alterius, fundamentum & radices habituri altiores, si patiamur? ut jam ista, quæ facit, non dominationem; non; sed dominum Antonium timentis sint. Ego autem gratiam non habeo, si quis, dum ne irato serviat, rem ipsam non deprecatur: immo triumphus & stipendium decernitur; & omnibus decretis ornatur. Pudeat concupiscere

as he is, of his Nones of December [6], what better pretext can he have for censuring our most laudable act, than Bestia and Clodius [7] had, for inveighing against his Consulship? Our Cicero brags, that he, in his gown, has sustained the war against Antony. But of what service is that to me, if the succession to Antony's place be claimed as the reward of oppressing Antony? And if the avenger of that evil has been the author of another, which is likely to be more firmly grounded, and to take a deeper root, if we suffer it [8]? As if all, that he is doing, came from one, not afraid of a master; no, but of having Antony for that master. But for my part, I cannot think myself obliged to a man, who, as long as he does not serve an angry Lord, has no quarrel with servitude itself; nay decrees triumphs, and pay, and every kind of honor to him [9]. It is a shame for any

for-

[6] *Cæsar* was killed on the *Ides*, or 15th of *March*, and *Catiline's* accomplices put to death on the *Nones* or 5th of *December*.

[7] *P. Clodius*, *Cicero's* inveterate enemy, who in his *Tribunate* procured a law, to banish him for putting those *Conspirators* to death.

[8] That is, if *Octavius*, for the merit of oppressing *Antony*, must be allowed to oppress the Republic in *Antony's* place. Whose power was likely to be the more dangerous of the two, as having the pretext of being authorised by *Cicero* and the Senate.

* [9] *Cicero* had decreed an *Ovation* to *Octavius*, which *Brutus* here aggravates into a *Triumph*: yet *Cicero*, in a subsequent letter asserts it, to have been one of his most

fortunam, cujus nomen suscepit. An consularis hoc; an Ciceronis est? Quoniam mihi tacere non licuit, leges quæ tibi necesse est molesta esse. Etenim ipse sentio, quanto cum dolore hæc ad te perscripserim; nec ignoro, quid sentias in republica; & quam desperatam quoque sanari putes posse. Nec mehercule te, Attice, reprehendo. Ætas enim, mores, liberi, segnem efficiunt: quod

one, to desire such a condition of life, as he has now taken upon himself. Is this the part of a Consular? this, of Cicero [10]? Since you would not suffer me to be silent, you will read what must necessarily make you uneasy: for I feel within myself, what an uneasiness it gives me to write it. Nor am I ignorant, what your sentiments are with regard to the Republic; which, though desperate, you think possible still to be retrieved. Nor in truth, Atticus, do I blame you. For your years [11]; your principles [12]; your children make you averse to action [13]:

pudent acts. [Lett. 21. it. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 474.] He had decreed likewise, that all the pay and rewards, which had been promised to the Legions by Octavius, either in lands or money, should be made good to them by public authority. Philip. 5. 1. 14. 3.

[10] This passage has been much tortured, and is variously read both in the MSS. and printed editions. I have followed the reading of *Manutius*, said to be found in an old copy, which I take to be the most agreeable to *Brutus's* stile.

[11] *Atticus* was at this time full sixty-six years old: *P. Manutius* says, that he was *quingagenarius*, or of the age of fifty, when he married his wife *Pilia*; [See *Manut. Not. in Ep. ad Qu. Fra. l. 2. 3.*] which led me into the mistake of reckoning him about a year younger than *Cicero*, who was fifty-one, at the time of that marriage. [See *Life of Cic. v. 1. p. 450.*] Whereas in truth, *Atticus* was three years, and about three months older than *Cicero*, as we may collect, by comparing what *Corn. Nepos* says of his age, and death. *Vit. Attic. c. 21.*

[12] He was by principle an *Epicurean*: whose chief good consisted in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life; undisturbed by the cares, and management of public affairs. See his character, *Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 580.*

[13] *Atticus* had but one child; a daughter; of whom he was very fond: but the word, *children*, is oft applied in this general manner to the case of a single child. *Cicero* rallies him, in one or two of his letters, upon his fondness for his little girl, as being a direct confutation of his *Epicurean* School; which held, that the love of our children was not implanted in us by nature, but derived onely from habit and fashion. *Ep. ad Att. 5. 19. 7. 20.* See *Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 302.*

quidem etiam ex Flavio nostro perspexi. Sed redeo ad Ciceronem. Quid inter Salvidienum, & eum interest? Quid autem amplius ille decerneret? Timet, inquires, etiam nunc reliquias belli civilis. Quisquam ergo ita timet profligatum, ut neque potentiam ejus, qui exercitum victorem habeat, neque temeritatem pueri putet extimescendam esse? An hoc ipsum ea re facit, quod illi propter amplitudinem omnia jam ultroque deferenda putat? O magnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum, quod verearis, ita ca-

which I perceived also from the account of our friend Flavius [14]. But to return to Cicero. What difference is there between him and Salvidienus [15]? or what more would Salvidienus himself decree to Octavius [16]? He is afraid still, you will say, of the remains of the civil war. But can any one be so afraid of a routed enemy, as to think, neither the power of one, who is at the head of a conquering army, nor the rashness of a boy at all to be feared? Or does he do all this, because he thinks, that every thing ought freely to be given up to him, on the account of his great power? Oh the strange folly of fear! to be so cautious of shunning what we

[14] This is explained by a story, related by *Corn. Nepos*, that a scheme having been projected, for raising a fund of money for the support of *Brutus* and his forces, by a voluntary contribution of the *Roman Knights*, *Flavius* proposed the affair to *Atticus*, as *Brutus's* particular friend, and one of the richest of that order, desiring, that he would undertake the management, and put himself at the head of it. But *Atticus* answered, that *Brutus* was welcom to make what use he pleased of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any person whatsoever, on any such occasion. *Vit. Attic. c. 8.*

[15] *Salvidienus* was a Creature, and intimate favorite of *Octavius*; who, from the lowest condition of life, was raised by him to the highest honors of the Republic; yet was afterwards put to death, for conspiring perditionally against him in favor of *M. Antony*, *Suet. Aug. 66. Dio. 48. 376. Vell. Pat. 2. 76.*

[16] When *Octavius* marched with his army against *Antony*, into *Cisalpine Gaul*, the Senate, at *Cicero's* motion, decreed to him the legal command of that army, as *Propraetor*; and that he should carry on the war in conjunction with the two Consuls, and should have a Seat in the Senate, with the rank of a *Praetor*. After the first battel of *Modena*, they decreed to him likewise a thanksgiving of fifty days, with the title of *Imperator*, in common with the Consuls; and after the second battel, and the death of the Consuls, they decreed to him an *Ovation*, *Phil. 3. 2. 5, &c. 14. 10.*

vere,

vere, ut, cùm vitare fortasse potueris, ultro arcessas, & attrahas ! Nimiùm timemus mortem, & exsilium, & paupertatem : hæc videntur Ciceroni ultima esse in malis : & dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur, ac laudetur ; servitutem, honorificam modò, non aspernatur : si quidquam in extrema ac miserrima contumelia potest honorificum esse. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem ; referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat ; tamen illud apparet, verba rebus esse contraria. Quid enim tam alienum ab humanis sensibus est, quàm eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero sit ? Atqui eo tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut sit illi Octavius propitius. Ego, vero jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus scio Ciceronem instructissimum esse. Quid enim illi profunt, quæ pro libertate patriæ, de dignitate ; quæ de morte, exilio, paupertate scri-

are afraid of, that instead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we forwardly invite and draw it upon ourselves. We have too great a dread of death, and of exile, and of poverty. These Cicero looks upon, as the chief ills of life ; and as long as he can find people, who will grant him what he desires ; who will respect, and applaud him ; he has no objection to slavery, provided it be an honorable one ; if any thing can be honorable, in a state of the most wretched and abject contumely. Let Octavius then call him Father ; refer all things to him, praise, thank him : yet it will be seen at last, that his words are contrary to his acts. For what is so opposite to the common sense of mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a Father, who cannot be ranked in the number even of freemen ? And yet all that this excellent man is aiming at ; all that he is doing, tends onely to this, that Octavius may be kind to him. I can no longer set any value on those arts, of which I know Cicero to be so great a master : for of what use to him are all the fine things, that he has written with such eloquence, for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exile, poverty ? How

psit copiosissimè? Quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus; qui privigno minus tribuerit, quàm Cicero alieno tribuat? Desinat igitur glorizando etiam infectari dolores nostros. Quid enim nostra, victum esse Antonium; si victus est, ut alii vacaret, quod ille obtinuit? tametsi tuæ litteræ dubia etiam nunc significant. Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex & obnoxius; si neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum gestarum pudet. Ego certe, quoniam cum ipsa re bellum geram; hoc est, cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis, & dominatione, & potentia, quæ supra leges se esse velit: nulla erit tam bona conditio serviendi, qua deterrear:

much better does Philippus seem to understand those subjects, who was more reserved in his concessions to a son-in-law, than Cicero to a stranger [17]? Let him forbear then in his boastings to insult even our miseries. For what is it to us, that Antony is vanquished, if his fall has made room only for another; to possess his place? Though your letters even still speak dubiously of him [18]. Let Cicero then live on, since he can submit to it, suppliant and obnoxious; if he has no regard, either to his years, or his honors, or the acts of his past life. As for me, I will wage war with the thing itself; that is, with Tyranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and with every power, that seeks to advance itself above the laws: nor shall any condition of servitude, how advantageous soever, divert me from it; though

[17] *L. Marcus Philippus* was Consul, A. U. 697, and had married *Octavius's* mother, *Atia*, in her widowhood, with whom he now lived. But *Brutus* does not seem to have been exactly informed of the transactions at *Rome*, by charging *Cicero* with a greater forwardness in decreasing honors to *Octavius*, than even his Father-in Law approved, since, as we shall find from a following letter, besides the honors, mentioned above, which *Cicero* decreed, *Philippus* decreed the additional honor of a *Statue in the Rostra*.

[18] *Atticus* had given an intimation in his letter, that *Antony* had recovered some considerable strength since his flight from *Modena*, and that his affairs did not seem so desperate, as they were commonly imagined. This was occasioned, as it is observed above, by *Octavius's* refusal to pursue him after his defeat, which gave him an opportunity of gathering up his scattered troops, and joining with *Pentidus*. But the dubious state of his affairs, which *Atticus* had suggested, shews, that *Atticus's* letter was written before *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*, which happened on *May 29th*: and this answer therefore from *Brutus* might be written probably about the middle of *June*.

quam-

quamvis sit vir bonus, ut scribis, Antonius : quod ego numquam existimavi. Sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. Te nisi tantum amarem, quantum Ciceroni persuasum est, diligi se ab Octavio, hæc ad te non scripsissem. Dolet mihi, quod tu nunc stomacharis, amantissimus tum tuorum omnium, tum Ciceronis : sed persuade tibi, de voluntate propria mea nihil esse remissum, de judicio largiter. Neque enim impetrari potest, quin, quale quidque videatur ei, talem quisque de illo opinionem

Antony, as you write, be an honest man; which was never my opinion of him [19]. But as to a Master, our Ancestors would never endure one, though it were even a Parent [20]. If I did not love you, as much, as Cicero persuades himself, that he is beloved by Octavius, I would not have written this to you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you are now disgusted; you, who love all your friends so warmly, and above all, Cicero. But assure yourself, that I have abated nothing of my particular affection, though a great deal of my judgement of him. For it cannot possibly be otherwise, but that every man's opinion of things must be agreeable to the light, in which they appear to him. I wish

[19] Mr. Tunstall, upon the strength of his hypothesis and the authority of Plutarch, thinks the true reading in this place ought to have been *Octavius*, instead of *Antonius*. [*Vulg. malè Antonius*. Vid. Tunst. Epist. p. 194. Not.] But this emendation is not only contradictory to all the Copies, both MSS, and printed, but to the sense of the passage and to history itself. *Atticus*, to whose letter *Brutus* is here answering, had a particular friendship with *Antony*, and at the very time of this letter, when *Antony's* affairs were thought quite desperate, and when it was unpopular and invidious, to profess the least regard for him, is celebrated by the Ancients, for acting a most generous part, and performing all manner of good offices to his wife and children at Rome. In this disposition therefore, when he was touched with a particular compassion for *Antony's* deplored condition, it was natural to mention him with some tenderness in his letter to *Brutus* : but as to *Octavius*, it does not appear, that *Atticus* had any personal acquaintance or commerce with him, till many years after : when he was indebted even for that, to the favor and recommendation of *Antony*. See *Atticus's* character. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 564. 580. &c.

[20] This doctrine is taught by *Cicero* also, in his book of Offices, as a duty of perpetual obligation ; *that where a Parent persists in subverting the liberties of his country, we ought to rescue our country, though at the expence of that Parent's life*. Off. 1. 3. 23.

habeat. Vellem mihi scripsisses, quæ conditiones essent Atticæ nostræ: potuisssem aliquid tibi de meo sensu perscribere. Valitudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse non miror. Denique quod petis, faciam libenter: nam etiam sorores me rogant; & hominem noro, & quid sibi voluerit.

you had sent me word, what are the conditions offered to our Attica. I might then have given you my sentiments upon them [21]. I do not wonder at the concern, which you express for my Porcia's health [22]. To conclude, what you desire of me, I will do with pleasure: for my Sisters also make the same request [23]; and I know the man, and what it is, that he would have.

EPISTOLA XVI.

EPIST. XVI.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Fungerer officio, quo tu functus es in meo luctu, teque per litteras consolarer, nisi scirem, his remediis, quibus meum dolorem tu levasses, in tuo non egere: ac velim

I Should perform the same office, which you performed in my loss, of comforting you by letter, did I not know, that you cannot want those remedies in your grief [1], with which you relieved

faci-

[21] *P. Manutius* supposes, that a proposal of marriage had been made to *Atticus* for his daughter *Attica*, which he had signified to *Brutus*. But as *Attica* could not be above *eleven years old* at this time, so, if this hint relates to any proposal of that sort, it could mean nothing more, than that some party had been offered, in order to take effect, when she should be thought ripe for the married state.

[22] This implies, that *Porcia* was now indisposed, or lay sick, of which more will be said in the 16th Letter.

[23] His Sisters, as it is said, were the wife of *Lepidus*, and the wife of *Cassius*, both now at *Rome*.

[1] This letter of condolence relates evidently to the death of some person intimately dear to *Brutus*, and whose loss affected him with the utmost tenderness. I have taken occasion elsewhere to apply it to the death of his wife *Porcia*; [*Life of Cic. v.*

facilis, quàm tunc ego mihi, *mine* [2]. *I wish only, that you may cure yourself now more easily, than at that time I cured myself; for it would be strange in so great a man as you, not to be able to practise, what he had prescribed to another. As for me, not only the reasons, which you then collected, but your very authority deterred me, from indulging my sorrow to excess. For when you imagined me, to bear my affliction with more softness, than became a man; especially one, who used to comfort others; you chid me by letter, in stronger terms, than it was your custom to make use of. Out of my great regard therefore, and reverence for your judgement, I recollected my-*

p. 441] and have given my reasons for an interpretation, which contradicts the common tradition of Antiquity. We have observed an intimation given, in letter 15th, Note 22. of *Porcia's* sickness: and *Plutarch* says, that there was a letter of *Brutus's* extant in his days, if it was genuin, in which he laments her death, and complains of his friends, for neglecting her in her last illness. [in Brut.] *Cicero*, we see, avoids to name the person deceased, which, in the case of *Porcia*, would be the natural effect of good manners, and a proper respect to *Brutus's* tenderness. It could not be his mother, for she survived her Son several years: [Corn. Nep. Vit. Att. c. 11.] nor has any probable conjecture been ever offered with regard to any body else. *P. Manutius* declares himself wholly at a loss, after the most diligent attention, to guess at the subject of it. He observes, that there are several strokes in it, which eminently describe the singular greatness of *Brutus's* loss, and which would turn his thoughts towards *Porcia*, were there not some internal marks in the letter itself, that confute such an interpretation. These marks will be considered, when we come to the passages, that are supposed to contain them; where as I shall shew *Manutius* to be mistaken, so I shall confirm my Hypothesis of *Porcia's* death.

[2] Upon the death of his daughter *Tullia*: on which occasion *Brutus* sent him a letter of condolence, written, as he says of it, in such a friendly and prudent manner, that while it drew many tears from him, yet it gave him great consolation. Ep. ad. Att.

& ea, quæ didiceram, legeram, acceperam, graviora duxi, tua auctoritate addita. Ac mihi tum, Brute, officio solùm erat & naturæ, tibi nunc populo & scenæ (ut dicitur) serviendum est. Nam cùm in te non solum exercitus tui, sed omnium civium ac penè gentium conjecti oculi sint, minimè decet, propter quem fortiores cæteri sumus, cum ipsum animo debilitatum videri. Quam obrem accepisti tu quidem dolorem (id enim amisisti cui simile in terris nihil fuit) & est dolendum in tam gravi vul-

self; and by the accession of your authority, took every thing that I had learnt, or read, or heard upon that subject to have the greater weight: Yet my part, Brutus, at that time was onely to act agreeably to duty and to nature: but yours is to be acted, as we say, upon the stage, and before the people. For when the eyes, not onely of your army, but of all the Citizens, nay of all nations are upon you; it is wholly indecent for you, by whom we other mortals are made the spectator, to betray any dejection or want of courage [3]. You have suffered indeed a great loss, (for you have lost that, which has not left it's fellow on earth) [4], and must be allowed to grieve under

here,

[3] This was a very proper topic to be urged to *Brutus* in his present circumstances; that he was at the head of an army, on which the fate of *Rome* depended; and that a trial of so great importance ought to engross the whole man, and absorb all other cares of a private nature. But he had already shewn, as *Plutarch* tells us, how well he could support his character on so trying an occasion. For in the morning, when *Cæsar* was killed, after he had left his house in order to execute that act, *Portia*, whom he made privy to it, being unable to bear the anxiety and agitations, which the expectation of that event gave her, fainted away in such a manner, that she was imagined by all to be dead: and the news of her death was accordingly sent to *Brutus*; who though extremely troubled, yet was not so oppressed by his private grief, as to neglect the public affair, in which he was engaged. *Plut. in Brut.*

[4] *I cannot yet guess, says Manutius, to whom these words can be applied, since they cannot relate either to Portia, or to his mother.* [Vid. Not. Manut.] *Franciscus Robertellus* declares them to allude to the death of *P. Servilius Isauricus*, a person of great dignity, who died about this time at *Rome* in an extreme old age; [*Dio. l. 45. p. 277.*] and to whom he supposes *Brutus* to have been nearly related by his mother *Servilia*. But the greatness of *Brutus's* affliction, intimated in the letter, shews it to be applicable to some body,

nere, (ne id ipsum, carere omni sensu doloris, sit miserius quam dolore) sed, ut modicè, cæteris utile est, tibi necesse est. Scriberem plura, nisi ad te hæc ipsa nimis multa essent. Nos te tuumque exercitum expectamus: sine quo, ut reliqua ex sententia succedant, vix satis

so cruel a blow; left to want all sense of grief, should be found more wretched than grief itself [5]: but to grieve with moderation, as it is useful to every body, so it is necessary to you. I should write more, if this was not already too much to one of your character. We expect you, and your army: without which, though all other things succeed to our wishes [6], we shall hardly ever be free. I

F f f 2

liberi

body, more intimately dear to him, than a decrepit old Senator; who, how eminent soever, had long ceased to make any figure, or to bear any part in the public affairs; and whose son, having been *Colleague* with *J. Caesar* in the consulship, appears to have been an opposer, rather than a favorer of *Brutus*. [Ep. Fam. 10. 12. ad Brut. Ep. 3.] *Robertellus* however, upon the merit of this groundless conjecture, insults *Manutius*, for confessing his ignorance, in a question so obvious; and for thinking it possible, that the death of *Porcia*, or of any little woman, could affect *Brutus* so tenderly. *Robor. Emendation. l. 2. c. 18.*

[5] For not to grieve at all, as he expresses himself elsewhere, *would shew a mind void of humanity, and a body void of feeling.* Tusc. qu. 3.

[6] *Manutius* contends, that the doubt, which *Cicero* here intimates, concerning the success of their arms, shews, that it was written before *Antony's* defeat at *Modena*, whereas in the 15th letter, which was written after that defeat, mention is made of *Porcia*, as then living. But if these words do not imply what *Manutius* imagines, but on the contrary, prove the letter to have been written not onely after *Antony's* defeat, but after his union also with *Lepidus*, then his objection vanishes of course. As to the doubt then, here signified, about their success, it must be remembered, that though presently after the victory at *Modena*, *Cicero* thought their danger over, yet he soon had reason to change his mind, and especially after *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*, clearly saw, what he expresses with great sollicitude in all his letters, that the fortune of the Republic was become again wholly uncertain. But the other part of the sentence, where he signifies his expectation of seeing *Brutus* and his army in *Italy*, seems to demonstrate, that the letter was written after *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*; for it was after that event onely, that *Cicero* began to press *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to bring their armies into *Italy*; as the reader will observe through the course of these letters; as well as in several others written to *Cassius*: in one of which, *when we had imagined the war to be over*, says he, *we are brought again into the utmost danger, by your friend Lepidus*: [Ep. Fam. 12. 9.] and in another; *the war*, say, he, *while I am writing this, is become a dangerous*

liberi videmur fore. De tota *shall write more largely on the*
 republica plura scribam, & for- *whole state of the Republic ; and*
 tasse jam certiora his litteris, *perhaps with more certainty, in the*
 quas Veteri nostro cogitabam *letters, which I am thinking to*
 dare. *send by our Vetus [7].*

EPISTOLA XVII.

EPIST. XVII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

ETSI daturus eram Mes-
 salæ Corvino continuò
 litteras, tamen Veterem nos-
 trum ad te sine litteris meis
 venire nolui. Maximo in dis-

THough I was just going to
 write by Messala Cor-
 vinus [1], yet I would not let our
 Vetus come to you without a letter
 [2]. The Republic, Brutus, is

dangerous one again, by the treachery of Lepidus : —wherefore there is a general persuasion in the City, that you are coming into Italy with your army ; that, if things succede to our wishes, we may have the benefit of your advice and authority ; or, if any ill luck besall us, as it is usual in war, we may have the support of your army —be assured therefore, that all our hopes are in you and Brutus ; that both of you are expected, but Brutus immediately. Ep. Fam. 10.

[7] What Cicero here hints of his design to write again quickly by Vetus, is another strong proof, that this letter was written after Antony's union with Lepidus. Vetus, as we have seen from letter the 7th, was with Brutus in Macedonia, before the death of the Consuls ; whence he came to Rome, in order to sue for the Pratorship ; but with a promise of returning to Brutus, as soon as that affair could be finished. He was now preparing to return within a few days, when he carried with him the following Letter from Cicero ; written, as we shall find, not only after Lepidus's union with Antony, but about the time when he was declared an enemy by the Senate, which was still a month later. Ep. Fam. 10. 23. 12. 10.

[1] The reader will see a particular character of this Messala in letter 21st.

[2] Vetus was now returning to Brutus in Macedonia, according to his promise, about the beginning of July ; when he carried this letter with him from Cicero : and from this time he continued probably to act with him to the end of the war ; yet within a few years after it, by his interest, as we may imagine, with the conquerors, we find him in the possession of his friend Cicero's Villa, near Puteoli, called the Academy : on the subject of which there is an Epigram still extant, made by one of Cicero's freed-men. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 511.

crimine

crimine respublica, Brute, ver-
 fatur; victoresque rursus de-
 certare cogimur: id accidit M.
 Lepidi scelere & amentia. Quo
 tempore cum multa propter
 eam curam quam pro repub-
 lica suscepi, graviter ferrem,
 tum nihil tuli gravius, quàm
 me non posse matris tuæ pre-
 cibus cedere, non sororis: nam
 tibi, quod mihi plurimi est, fa-
 cilè me satisfacturum arbitra-
 bar. Nullo enim modo po-
 terat causa Lepidi distingui ab
 Antonii: omniumque iudicio
 etiam durior erat; quòd, cum
 honoribus amplissimis à tenatu
 esset Lepidus ornatus, tum eti-
 am paucis ante diebus præcla-
 ras litteras ad senatum misisset;
 repente non solum recepit reli-
 quias hostium, sed bellum a-

*now in the utmost danger, and
 after we had conquered, we are
 forced again to fight, by the per-
 fidy and madness of M. Lepidus.
 Upon which occasion, when on the
 account of the care, with which
 I have charged myself for the Re-
 public, I had many things to make
 me uneasy, yet nothing has vexed
 me more, than that it is not in
 my power to yield to the entreaties
 of your mother and sister [3]:
 for I imagined, that I should
 easily satisfy you; on which I lay
 the greatest stress. For Lepidus's
 case could not by any means be dis-
 tinguished from Antony's: nay
 in all people's judgement, was
 even worse: since after he had been
 adorned with the highest honors by
 the Senate [4]; and a few days
 before, had sent an excellent letter
 to them; on a sudden, he not onely
 received the broken remains of our
 enemies, but is waging a most cruel*

[3] One of *Brutus's* sisters, as it is said above, was wife to *Lepidus*, by whom she had children. *Brutus's* mother therefore, and his other sister, *Teritia*, the wife of *Cassius*, were pressing *Cicero*, that *Lepidus* might not either be adjudged an enemy, and his estate consequently confiscated; or that his children at least, on the merit of being *Brutus's* nephews, might be exempted from that calamity, and not involved in their father's ruin. *Cicero* could not comply with their entreaties, but got *Lepidus* declared an enemy by the unanimous decree of the Senate, on the last of *June* [Ep. Fam. 12. 10.] He looked upon the intercession of the women, as the effect of a feminine weakness, and fancied, that *Brutus* would be satisfied with the necessity of that step: but in this he was much mistaken, as we shall see by the next letter from *Brutus*.

[4] The Senate, at *Cicero's* motion, had decreed to him a gilt *equusfrinus Statue* in the *Pyria*: an honor, which had never before been decreed to any man. Philip. 5. 15

cerimum terra marique gerit ;
 cujus exitus qui futurus sit, incertum est. Itque cum rogamur, ut misericordiam liberis ejus impertiamus, nihil affertur quo minus summa supplicia, si (quod Jupiter omen avertat !) pater puerorum vicerit, subeunda nobis sint. Nec vero me fugit, quàm sit acerbum, parentiam scelera filiorum pœnis lui. Sed hoc præclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicæ redderet. Itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos ; non is, qui Lepidum hostem judicat. Atque ille si, armis positus, de vi damnatus esset, quo in judicio certe defensionem non haberet, eandem calamitatem subirent liberi, bonis publicatis ; quamquam quod tua mater, & soror deprecatur pro pueris, id ipsum & multa alia crudeliora nobis omnibus Lepidus, Antonius, & reliqui hostes denunciant. Itaque maximam spem hoc tempore habemus in te atque exercitu tuo. Cum ad reipublicæ summam,

war against us by land and sea, the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we are desired therefore, to extend mercy to his children, not a word is said, why, if their father should conquer, (which the Gods avert !) we are not to expect the last punishment from him. I am not ignorant, how hard it is, that Children should suffer for the crimes of their parents : but this is wisely contrived by the laws, that the love of their children should make parents more affectionate to their country. Wherefore it is Lepidus, who is cruel to his children ; not he, who adjudges Lepidus to be an enemy. For if, laying down his arms, he were to be condemned onely of violence, in which no defence could be made for him, his children would suffer the same calamity, by the confiscation of his estate. Yet what your mother and sister are now solliciting against, in favor of the children, the very same and much worse, Lepidus, Antony, and our other enemies are, at this very moment, threatening to us all. Wherefore our greatest hope is in you and your army. It is of the utmost con-
 tum

tum ad gloriam & dignitatem tuam vehementer pertinet, te in Italiam, ut ante scripsi venire quamprimum. Eget enim vehementer cum viribus tuis, tum etiam consilio respública. Veterem, pro ejus erga te benevolentia singularique officio, libenter ex tuis litteris complexus sum : eumque cum tui, tum reipublicæ studiosissimum amantissimumque cognovi. Ciceronem meum propediem, ut spero, videbo: tecum enim illum in Italiam celeriter esse venturum confido.

sequence, both to the Republic in general, and to your glory and dignity in particular, that as I wrote to you before, you come, as soon as possible, into Italy: for the Republic is in great want, not onely of your forces, but of your counsil. Upon the recommendation of your letter, I served Vetus with pleasure, on the account of his singular benevolence and duty to you: and I found him extremely zealous and affectionate both to you, and to the Republic. I shall see my Son, I hope, very soon; for I depend upon his coming with you quickly to Italy.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

EPIST. XVIII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

DE M. Lepido vereri me cogit reliquorum timor: qui si eripuerit se nobis, (quod velim temere atque injuriose de illo suspicati sint homines)

OTHER people's fears oblige me to entertain some also myself, on Lepidus's account [1]: If he should withdraw himself from us, (which will prove, I hope, a rash and injurious suspicion of him)

[1] While *Lepidus's* affair was in agitation at *Rome*, and it was generally expected, that he would be declared an enemy by the Senate, *Brutus's* Mother and Sister had sent an account, we may suppose, to *Brutus*, of the Solicitation, which they had been using in vain with *Cicero*, to prevent any such decree of the Senate; or to exempt the children at least from the effects of it; and desired him therefore to interpose his authority on that occasion, which produced the present letter.

oro atque obsecro te, Cicero, necessitudinem nostram tuamque in me benevolentiam obtestans, fororis meæ liberos obliviscaris esse Lepidi filios; meque his in patris locum successisse existimes: hoc si a te impetro, nihil profecto dubitabis pro his suscipere. Aliter alii cum suis vivunt: nihil ego possum in fororis meæ liberis facere, quo possit expleri voluntas mea aut officium. Quid vero aut mihi tribuere boni possunt, si modo digni sumus quibus aliquid tribuatur; aut ego matri, ac forori, puerisque illis præstaturus sum, si nihil valuerit apud te reliquumque senatum, contra patrem Lepidum Brutus avunculus? Scribere multa ad te neque possum præ sollicitudine ac stomacho, neque debeo. Nam si in tanta re tamque necessaria verbis mihi opus est ad te excitandum & confirmandum; nulla spes est,

[2], *I beg and beseech you, Cicero; conjuring you by our friendship and your affection to me, to forget, that my sister's children are Lepidus's sons; and to consider me in the place of their father. If I obtain this from you, you will not scruple, I am sure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live in a different manner with their friends: but I can never do enough for my Sister's children, to satisfy either my inclination, or my duty. But what is there, in which honest men can oblige me, (if in reality I have deserved to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of service to my mother, sister, and the boys; if their Uncle Brutus has not as much weight with you and the Senate, to protect, as their father Lepidus to hurt them? I feel so much uneasiness and indignation, that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully to you: for if, in a case so important and so necessary, there could be any occasion for words, to excite and confirm you, there is no hope, that you will do, what I wish, and*

[2] Though *Lepidus* had actually united himself with *Antony*, and *Brutus* had heard of it before this time, yet he seems to have flattered himself still, that it was not with any desperate view, or a resolution to act against the Republic, but with design onely to act the Mediator, agreeably to what he himself declared, and make peace among Fellow-Citizens. Ep. Fam. 10. 27, 34.

factu-

facturum te quod volo, & quod oportet. Quare noli expectare longas preces: intueri meipsum; qui hoc, vel a Cicerone conjunctissimo homine privatim; vel a consulari tali viro, remota necessitudine privata, impetrare debeo. Quid sis factururus, velim mihi quamprimum rescribas. Kalend. Quint. ex castris.

what is proper. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me. Consider who I am: one, who ought to obtain this, either from Cicero, a man the most particularly united with me; or without any regard to our private friendship, from a Consular, of such eminence. Pray send me word, as soon as you can, what you resolve to do [3]. From my Camp, July the 1st [4].

EPISTOLA XIX.

EPIST. XIX.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

NULLAS adhuc à te litteras habebamus; ne famam quidem quæ declararet, te cognita senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque matu-

WE have yet had no letters from you, nor so much as any report, to inform us, that in pursuance of the vote of the Senate, you were bringing your army into Italy: which that you would do, and with all speed, the

[3] The great solicitude, which *Brutus* peevishly expresses on the account of his Nephews, and his demand to have the laws suspended in their favor, at a time of such confusion, when the liberty of *Rome* was at stake, seems to be much out of character. For if *Lepidus* had returned to his duty, of which *Brutus* professes some hopes, the case of the children would be set right of course; or upon the conclusion of the war, which side soever got the better, their fortunes would necessarily have been repaired, either by their Father, or their Uncle. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 470.

[4] *Lepidus* was declared an enemy by the Senate, on the 30th of June; the day before the date of this letter; but the news of it could not reach *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, till about a fortnight after.

rare, magnopere desiderabat respublica. Ingravescit enim in dies intestinum malum, nec externis hostibus magis quàm domesticis laboramus, qui erant omnino ab initio belli, sed faciliùs frangebantur. Erectior senatus erat, non sententiis solùm nostris, sed etiam cohortationibus excitatus. Erat in senatu satis vehemens & acer *Pansa*, cùm in cæteros hujus generis, tum maximè in socerum: cui consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad *Mutinam* gerebatur, nihil ut in *Cæsare* reprehenderes; nonnulla in *Hirtio*: hujus belli fortuna, ut in secundis, fluxa;

Republic earnestly desired of you [1]. *For our intestine evil gains ground upon us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies abroad, than from those at home* [2]: *who were troublesome indeed from the beginning of the war, but more easily kept under. For the Senate was then in higher spirits; roused not onely by my votes, but exhortations. Pansa, at the head of it, was sufficiently brisk and vigorous against all the rest of that class; but above all against his Father in law* [3]: *who, during his Consulship, wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last. The war was so managed at Modena, that you could find no fault with Cæsar, though some with Hirtius* [4]. *The fortune of this war, if compared with a prosperous state, is*

[1] The Senate had passed a vote, at *Cicero's* motion, to call *Brutus* into *Italy*, with his army, of which *Brutus* had not yet taken any notice, or signified any intention of complying with it. *Cicero* therefore presses him to it very warmly in this letter, where he opens the grounds of it, and lays before him the uncertain and critical state of their affairs.

[2] After the union of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, their partisans at *Rome* began to be very insolent, and troublesome to the friends of liberty; whose apprehensions also were much increased by the suspicions, which they had reason to conceive about *Octavius*.

[3] *Q. Fufius Calenus*, of whom some account is given above, Lett. 2. Not. 6.

[4] It does not appear from any of *Cicero's* letters what particular reason he had to blame *Hirtius*, with regard to his conduct at *Modena*; besides that general want of vigor and celerity mentioned above, in executing the decrees of the Senate; and the imprudence of imagining, that the war might be ended by amicable methods. Lett. 8. Not. 3. Lett. 4. Not. 9.

ut in adversis, bona: erat victrix respublica, cæsis Antonii copiis, ipso expulso à Bruto. Deinde ita multa peccata, ut quodammodo victoria excideret è manibus: perterritos, inermes, saucios, non sunt nostri duces persecuti: datumque Lepido tempus est, in quo levitatem ejus sæpè perspectam, majoribus in malis experiremur. Sunt exercitus boni, sed rudes, Bruti & Planci. Sunt fidelissima, & maxima auxilia Gallorum: sed Cæsa-

uncertain; if with an adverse one, good. The Republic was victorious; Antony's forces routed; he himself driven out of Italy by Brutus. But so many blunders ensued, that the victory slipped, as it were, out of our hands: for our Generals did not think fit to pursue the frightened, disarmed, disabled rebels [5]: and an opportunity was given to Lepidus, to make us feel the effects of his levity; though felt by us indeed often before, but now to our greater mischief [6]. The armies of Brutus and Plancus are good, but raw [7]: the Gallic auxiliaries faithful and numerous. But as to

[5] Cicero was much shocked, as he often complains, that their Generals at Modena, D. Brutus and Octavius, made so little use of their victory, as to give Antony time, for want of pursuing him, to gather the scattered remains of his forces, and to join with Ventidius, and march in all safety out of Italy. But D. Brutus excused himself from any share of that blame, by assuring Cicero, that his army, after having been shut up so long in Modena, was destitute of all necessaries for such a pursuit, and without any horse, whilst Antony's horse remained almost intire; and that Octavius, who alone was in condition to follow him, could neither be prevailed with himself, nor prevail with his troops to do it. [Ep. Fam. l. 11. 10, 13.] Plancus also, in a letter to Cicero, declares, that it was wholly owing to Octavius, that Antony survived that defeat, and was able to give them any farther trouble. Ep. Fam. l. 10. 24.

[6] By uniting his army with Antony's, and renewing the war; which would otherwise have been at an end by the victory at Modena.

[7] D. Brutus and L. Plancus were appointed Consuls for the following year, by J. Cæsar, and had now joined their armies in the defence of the Republic, against Antony and Lepidus in Gaul: [Ep. Fam. 11. 15.] but Plancus, who had much the better army, though not so numerous, soon after betrayed and deserted his Collegue. Besides his Horse and Gallic auxiliaries, he had four complete legions, three of which were veteran: whilst Brutus, though he reckoned ten in 'all, had but one veteran Legion; and the rest raw and unprovided with all necessaries. Ep. Fam. 10. 24. 11. 10, 13.

rem meis consiliis adhuc gubernatum, præclara ipsum indole, admirabilique constantia, improbiſſimis litteris quidam fallacibusque interpretibus ac nunciis impulerunt in ſpem certiffimam conſulatus. Quod ſimulatque ſenſi, neque ego illum abſentem litteris monere deſtiti, nec accuſare præſentes ejus neceſſarios, qui ejus cupiditati ſuffragari videbantur: nec in ſenatu ſcleratiſſimorum conſiliorum fontes aperire dubitavi: nec verò ulla in re me mini, aut ſenatum meliorem, aut magiſtratus. Numquam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis, vel potentiſſimi potius (quando quidem potentia jam in vi poſita eſt & armis) accidit, ut nemo tribunus plebis, nemo alio magiſtrato, nemo privatus, auctor

Cæſar, who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent diſpoſition, and wonderfull conſtancy, ſome people, by moſt wicked letters, meſſages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an aſſured hope of the Conſulſhip. Which as ſoon as I perceived, I never ceaſed admoniſhing him in abſence, nor reproaching his friends here preſent, who ſeemed to encourage his ambition: nor did I ſcruple to lay open the ſource of thoſe traiterous counſils in the Senate [8]: nor do I ever remember the Senate, or the Magiſtrates to have behaved better on any occaſion. For it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honor to a powerfull, or rather moſt powerfull man, (ſince power is now meaſured by force and arms) that no Tribun, nor any other Magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a private Senator would move for it [9].
exiſte-

[8] It has been commonly believed, on the authority of that *Plutarch*, *Cicero* was a promotor of *Oſtavius's* demand of the Conſulate; being duped and drawn into it by an aſſurance given him by the young man, that he would take him for his Collegue, and be governed by him in all points during their joint adminiſtration; but this letter is a conſutation of that ſtory, and ſhews, that no man was more ſhocked at *Oſtavius's* attempt, or took more pains to diſſuade it than *Cicero*.

[9] It is very remarkable, what *Cicero* here declares, that there was not a ſingle Magiſtrate, or Senator, who could be induced to move the Senate, for a grant of the Conſul-

existeret : sed in hac constantia atque virtute, erat tamen sollicita civitas. Illudimur enim, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum imperatorum insolentia. Tantum quisque se in republica posse postulat, quantum habet virium : non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet ; non iudicium, non existimatio civium, non posteritatis verecundia. Hæc ego multo antè prospiciens fugiebam ex Italia, tum, cùm me vestrorum edictorum fama revocavit. Incitavisti verò tu me, Brute, Velia : quamquam enim dolebam, in eam me urbem ire, quam tu fugeres, qui eam liberavisses ; (quod

Yet in the midst of all this firmness and virtue, the City is still alarmed : for we are insulted, Brutus, both by the licentiousness of the Soldiers, and the insolence of the Generals. Every one demands to have as much power in the state, as he has force to extort it : no reason, no moderation, no law, no custom, no duty is at all regarded ; no judgement or opinion of the Citizens ; no reverence for posterity. I had foreseen all this long beforehand, and was flying out of Italy, at the time when the fame of your edicts called me back again [10]. But you, Brutus, gave me fresh courage at Velia [11]. For though it grieved me to think, that I was going to that City, from which you, who had given liberty to

ship to *Octavius*. Which explains the reason of that extraordinary method of demanding it, by a deputation of his Officers, with a rough Centurion at their head ; who, throwing back his gown and laying his hand upon his sword, bluntly declared, *that if they would not make him Consul, that should*. Sueton. in August. c. 26. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 457.

[10] This happened in the preceding summer, while *Antony* and *Dolabella* were Consuls : when *Cicero* despairing of any good from their administration, resolved to make an excursion into *Greece*, and spend the remainder of that year at *Athens*, till the next Consuls entered into office, on the first of Jan. With this design he proceeded as far as *Syracuse* ; but being driven back to *Rhégium* by contrary winds, and meeting there with news of a change of affairs at *Rome*, and of *Antony's* disposition to listen to pacific counsils, he dropt his intended voyage, and returned to the City, in order to assist in any measures proper to bring about so desirable an end.

[11] A port on the *Leucanian* coast, where he had his last interview with *Brutus*, of which, after his arrival at *Rome*, he gave a pathetic account to the Senate. *Philipp.* 1. 4.

mihī quoque quondam acciderat, periculo simili, casu triftiore) perrexi tamen, Romamque perveni; nulloque præfidio quatefecī Antonium; contraque ejus arma nefanda, præfidia, quæ oblata ſunt Cæſaris, conſilio & auctoritate firmavi: qui ſi ſteterit idem, mihique paruerit; ſatis videmur habituri præſidii: ſin autem impiorum conſilia plus valerint, quàm noſtra; aut imbecillitas ætatis non potuerit gravitatem rerum ſuſtinere; ſpes omnis eſt in te. Quam ob rem advola, obſecro; atque eam rempublicam, quam virtute atque animi magnitudine magis quam eventis rerum li-

it, was forced to fly, (which had happened alſo formerly to me, in a caſe of ſimilar danger, but of more unhappy iſſue) [12] I yet went on, and came to Rome; and, without the ſupport of any guard, ſhook the power of Antony [13]; and by my advice and authority ſecured to us the troops of Cæſar, which the occaſion offered, againſt his traiterous arms [14]. In whom, if he continues in the ſame diſpoſition and deference to my advice, we are likely to have a ſufficient guard: but if the counſils of the diſaffected ſhould have more influence with him than mine; or if the imbecillity of his age ſhould not be able to ſuſtain the weight of the affairs, which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in you. For which reaſon, fly to us, I beſeech you; and perfect your work of freeing the Republic; which you have freed rather as yet by your virtue and greatneſs of mind, than in fact and rea-

[12] He alludes to the caſe of his Exil; when he was not onely driven out of the City by his enemies, as *Brutus* now was, but was baniſhed by a particular law, which had not yet happened to *Brutus*, though it did in a ſhort time after.

[13] By his firſt *Philippic*, delivered to the Senate, while *Antony* was Conſul, and in the City; wherein he admoniſhes him with great freedom, of the danger, to which the violent meaſures, that he was then purſuing, would expoſe both the Republic and himſelf, &c. In relation to which ſpeech, he ſays in one of his letters, *that while the reſt of the Senate acted like Slaves, he alone ſhewed himſelf to be free.* Ep. Fam. 12. 25. Phil. 5. 7.

[14] See Lett. 5. Note 4. and Lett. 9. Note 3.

berasti, exitu libera: omnis lity [15]. *All the world will run to omnium concursus ad te futurus est. Hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est.* Firmos omnino & duces habemus ab occidente, & exercitus. Hoc adolescentis præsidium equidem adhuc firmum esse confido: sed ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimescam. Habes totum reipublicæ statum; qui quidem tum erat, cum has litteras da-

you. Exhort Cassius by letter to do the same. There is no hope of liberty any where, but in the strength of your camps [16]. We have both the Generals, and the armies of the West, wholly firm to us [17]: I have some confidence also, that these troops of the young man are still firm: but there are so many at work to pervert him, that I am sometimes afraid, lest they make an impression on him. You see the whole state of the Republic, as it stood at the time, when I was sending away this

[15] The Conspirators imagined, that, by destroying *Cæsar*, they should give immediate liberty to the Republic: but things were now taking a quite different turn; and, by the treachery of *Lepidus*, and their apprehensions of the same treachery from *Octavius*, the Republic was in danger of being oppressed by a more cruel Tyranny than the former; unless *Brutus* and *Cassius* could bring their armies into *Italy* to prevent it.

[16] *Principiis* is the general reading both of the Editions and the MSS; yet *Manutius* suspects it, and prefers *præsidii*. But *principia* was a peculiar quarter or division of the Camp; in which the officers used to pitch their tents, and hold their assemblies for the affairs of the army. [Flor. 3. 10. 4. 2.] It is used sometimes also by *Livy* and other writers, to denote the Soldiers themselves, or that body of them called *Principes*, which being the flower of the army, is here put for the whole: whereas if the original reading had been *præsidii*; a word of common use, understood by all, and mentioned twice before in the same page, it is not probable, that the transcribers would have changed it for one of a more difficult and recondite interpretation. Vid. Flor. 3. 10. 4. 2. Liv. 8. 10. Pet. Victor. var. lect. 1. 3. c. 6. & Car. d'Aquino Lexic. militar.

[17] *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus*, as it is said above, had united their armies in *Gaul*, in defence of the public liberty: *Sextus Pompey* also, though he had quitted *Spain*, was master of a very considerable force, which he had offered to the service of the Republic. [Philip. 13. 10. And *Asinius Pollio*, who now governed *Spain*, as Proconsul, gave strong assurances in his letters to *Cicero*, of his fidelity to the same cause. Ep. Fam. 10. 32, 33.

bam. Velim deinceps meliora
fint: sin aliter fuerit, (quod
dii omen avertant! reipublicæ
vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis
esse debebat: mihi quidem
quantulum reliqui est?

*letter. I wish, that things may
henceforward take a better turn :
but if it should fall out otherwise,
(which omen the Gods avert !) I
shall lament the fate of the Republic,
which ought to be immortal ; but
what a poor share of life is left
at these years for me ?*

EPISTOLA XX.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

EPIST. XX.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

BReves tuæ litteræ: breves
dico? immò nullæ. Tri-
busne versiculis his temporibus
Brutus ad me? nihil scripsisses
potiùs; & requiris meas. Quis
umquam ad te tuorum sine
meis venit? Quæ autem epis-
tola non pondus habuit? Quæ
si ad te perlatae non sunt, ne
domesticas quidem tuas perla-
tas arbitror. Ciceroni scribis

YOUR letter was short :
short do I say? it was no
letter at all. In times like these,
can Brutus think three lines enough
to me [1]? You had better have
written nothing; and yet are
always calling for my letters. Did
any of your people ever come to
you without them? And was there
ever a single Epistle, which had
not something of weight in it? If
these have not been delivered to
you, neither were your letters from
home, I suppose, delivered to you.

[1] *Plutarch* takes notice, that *Brutus* was remarkable for his brevity, in all his *Greek Epistles*, in which he affected the *sententious and Laconic style*. [in *Brut.*] *Cicero* rallies him here for the same affectation in his *Latin letters*; as not being agreeable to the importance of the affairs, which they had now upon their hands, and that free communication of their counsils, which the public service required. But it appears on the whole, from the other letters of this collection that there was no great reason to complain of him on this head,

te longiorem daturum epistolam; rectè id quidem: sed hæc quoque debuit esse plenior. Ego autem, cùm ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Ciceronem; ut, etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret: nihil enim mihi jucundius, nihil illi honestius: quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram, sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse rejecta: quod ego cùm Ciceronis causa

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But you will send me a longer letter, you say, by my son [2]. That indeed will be right, but this also ought to have been fuller. For my part, you had no sooner sent me word, that my son had left you, than I dispatched away messengers, with letters to him, that if they had found him even landed in Italy, he should turn back directly to you: that nothing could be more agreeable to me, or reputable to him: though I had written to him several times before, that I had procured the election of Priests to be postponed, after a very hard struggle, to the next year [3]. In which I exerted myself, not only for the

H h h

elabo-

[2] *Brutus* had actually sent away young *Cicero* towards *Rome*, according to his Father's desire, to be a Candidate for one of the vacant Priesthoods. See Lett. 13.

[3] *Manutius* is puzzled how to account for the consistency of this passage. "What does *Cicero* mean, says he, by *this hard struggle*; when the election must have been postponed of course to the next year, without any struggle at all; since, as I have shewn above, there was no Magistrate at this time in *Rome*, capable of holding it?" *Mr. Tunstall* also from the same difficulty, has raised one of his numerous objections to the credit of these letters, [p. 241, &c.] Yet it admits an easy solution from *Cicero's* genuine epistles, which I shall endeavour to explain as briefly as I can.

In the beginning of the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Cæsar* being resolved to be Consul for the following year, a question was started, whether, in the absence of the Consuls, who were abroad in *Pompey's* camp, the Consular election could not be made by a *Prætor*. *Lepidus*, who was then *Prætor*, maintained, that it could: but *Cicero* condemned that opinion, and the author of it very severely, and declared upon the authority of the augural books, that neither the Consuls, nor even the *Prætors* could be created by a *Prætor*, and that there never had been an instance of it. [Ep. ad Att. 9. 9.] *Cæsar* therefore, not willing at this time to break through the ancient custom, was afterwards declared Dictator by *Lepidus*, in order to hold that election, in which he made himself Consul, with *P. Servilius*. [*Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. 2. 549.*] But in the end

elaboravi, tum Domitii, Cato- *sake of Cicero, but of Domitius,*
 nis, Lentuli, Bibulorum: quod Cato, Lentulus, and the Bi-
 ad te etiam scripseram. Sed bulus's [4]. *This I mentioned al-*
 videlicet cū illam pusillam *so in a letter to you; which was*
 epistolam tuam ad me dabas, *not, it seems, come to your hands,*
 nondum erat tibi id notum. *when you sent away that puny e-*
 Quare omni studio à te, mi *pistle of yours. Wherefore I beg*
 Brute, contendo, ut Ciceronem *of you, my Brutus, with the great-*

end of the war, when he was become master of the Republic, he no longer retained any of those scruples; but by the plenitude of his power named all the Magistrates, as he pleased, and a little before his death settled the succession of the Consuls and Tribuns, for the two following years. [Ep. ad Att. 14. 6.]

The City likewise, by an habitual patience under the daily subversion of all their laws, during *Cæsar's* reign, were grown, we may imagine, much less scrupulous than before, about the observance of their old forms, and would easily admit an election of Priests or Prætors to be made by a Prætor; especially in this particular exigency of their affairs, and the vacancy of the Consulship. For we find in fact, that such an election was going to be made, and that *Cicero* expected it to be made very speedily; and for that reason admonished his friend *Furnius*, to come to *Rome* directly, lest he should be too late to appear as a Candidate for the Prætorship. [Ep. Fam. 10. 25.] Yet it is certain, that there was no other Magistrate in the City, who could preside in that election, but the Prætor; who, in all other transactions, was *supplying the Consular Office* at this very time, as *Cicero* himself tells us according to the custom of their Ancestors. [Ep. Fam. 12.] On the whole then; *Cicero*, upon the unexpected case of the death of the Consuls, not knowing at first what the Senate or the Prætors either would, or could do, with regard to the vacant Priesthoods, and the creation of the other Magistrates, expresses his apprehensions, in the 10th Letter, of much difficulty and delay in that affair; yet perceiving them resolved at last to proceed to those elections, he thought it the most advisable, as he says, on many accounts, for the public service, to get both the *Pontifical* and *Prætorian* elections postponed to *January* following; [ibid. 26.] when *D. Brutus* and *Plancus* were to be Consuls; under whose administration the friends of liberty would have the better chance for success; nor be obliged in the mean time to desert their commands in the Provinces, in order to pursue their pretensions at *Rome*, to the detriment of the Republic, in so critical a conjuncture: and this account I take to be perfectly consistent with every thing that is said on that subject, either in the suspected or genuine letters of *Cicero*.

[4] These young noblemen were all likewise at this time in *Brutus's* camp, and designed to be Candidates for the vacant Priesthoods.

meum ne dimittas, tecumque adducas: quod ipsum, si rempublicam, cui susceptus es, respicis, tibi jam jamque faciendum est: renatum enim bellum est: idque non parvo scelerare Lepidi. Exercitus autem Cæsaris, qui erat optimus, non modò nihil prodest, sed etiam cogit exercitum tuum flagitari: qui si Italiam attigerit, erit civis nemo (quem quidem civem appellari fas sit) qui se non in tua castra conferat: etsi Brutum præclarè cum Planco conjunctum habemus: sed non ignoras, quàm sint incerti, & animi hominum, infecti partibus, & exitus præliorum. Quin etiam, si ut spero, viceri-

est earnestness, that you would not dismiss my son; but bring him hither along with you. This you must do instantly, if you have any regard for the Republic, for which you was born. For the war is renewed upon us, by the great treachery of Lepidus: and as for Cæsar's army, which was the best, it is not onely of no service to us, but obliges us even to call for yours [5]. Whenever that shall set foot in Italy, there will not be a single Citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, who will not presently be in your Camp. We have D. Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus [6]. But you are not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with party [7], as well as the events of battles, are. Nay, should we conquer, as I hope

[5] *Octavius's* army, composed intirely of Veterans, who had been trained under his Uncle *J. Cæsar*, began, after the battel of *Modena*, and the death of the two Consuls, to discover their disaffection to the Republican cause; and an unwillingness to act against their old Commanders and Fellow-soldiers; with whom they had served so successsfully to the ruin of the *Pompeian* party, which they now imagined to be reviving and gathering strength again, by the growing power of the Senate and the depression of *Antony*.

[6] See Letter the 19th, Note [7].

[7] *Cicero* seems here to intimate some distrust of *Plancus*, on the account of his old attachment to the *Cæsarian* party; and he had good reason for it; since *D. Brutus*, in a letter to him, dated *May the 6th*, acquaints him, that he had intercepted some of *Antony's papers*, which signified that *Antony* was not without hopes of gaining him. [Ep. Fam. 11. 11.] *Plancus* in the mean while was giving *Cicero* the strongest assurances of his fidelity to the Republic; yet soon after the date of this letter, infamously betrayed *D. Brutus*; who being deserted likewise by his own army was pursued and killed by some of *Antony's* Soldiers. See Life of Cic. vol. 2. 461.

mus, tamen magnam gubernationem tui consilii tuæque auctoritatis res desiderabit. Subveni igitur, per deos, idque quamprimùm; tibi que persuade, non te idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem à tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quàm, si maturè veneris, profuturum II. idus Quintus.

we shall, there will be a great want of your advice and authority, to settle all our affairs. Help us therefore, for God's sake; and that as soon as possible: and assure yourself, that you did not do a greater service to your country, on the Ides of March, when you delivered your Fellow-Citizens from slavery, than you will do, by coming to us quickly. July the 12th.

E P I S T O L A XXI.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

Messalem habes. Quibus igitur litteris tam accurate scriptis assequi possum, subtiliùs ut explicem, quæ gerantur, quæque sint in re publica, quàm tibi is exponet, qui & optimè omnia novit, & elegantissimè expedire & deferre ad te potest? Cave enim existimes, Brute, (quamquam non est necesse ea me ad te, quæ tibi nota sunt, scribere; sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo

E P I S T. XXI.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

YOU have Messala with you [1]. How is it possible therefore for me, to explain by letter, though ever so accurately drawn, the present state of our public transactions, more precisely than he; who both knows them all more perfectly, and can describe and relate them to you more elegantly than any man? For do not imagine, Brutus, (though there is no occasion for me to write, what you know already yourself, but that I cannot pass over in silence such an excellence of all good qualities) do

[1] See the character of Messala at large, *List of Cic.* vol. 2. p. 575. Note 1.

filentio præterire) cave putes, probitate, constantia, cura, studio reipublicæ, quidquam illi esse simile: ut eloquentia, qua mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur: quamquam in hac ipsa, sapientia plus apparet; ita gravi iudicio multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est, tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio (quod in eo summum est) gratia habenda videatur. Sed provehor amore; non enim id propositum est huic epistolæ, Messalam ut laudem; præsertim ad Brutum; cui & virtus illius non minùs, quàm mihi, nota est, & hæc ipsa studia, quæ laudo, notiora: quem cum à me dimittens graviter ferrem, hoc levabar uno, quòd ad te, tamquam ad alterum me, proficiscens, & officio fungebatur, & laudem maximam sequebatur. Sed hæc hæc tenus. Venio nunc, longo

not imagine, I say, that for probity, constancy, care and zeal for the Republic, there is any one equal to him: so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excels, scarce finds a place amongst his other praises: since even in that, his wisdom shines the most eminent; by his having formed himself, with so much judgment and art, to the truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the while is so remarkable; and he spends so much of his time in Study, that he seems to owe but little to his parts, which are still the greatest. But I am carried too far by my love for him. For it is not the purpose of this Epistle, to praise Messala; especially to Brutus, to whom his virtue is not less known, than to myself; and these very studies, which I am praising, still more known; whom when I could not take leave of without great regret, I comforted myself with reflecting, that by going away to you, as it were, to my second self; he both discharged his duty, and pursued the surest path to glory. But so much for that. I come now, after a long interval, to consider a certain letter of your's [2], wherein, while you

[2] The letter here referred to seems to be the 11th, dated May 15th; whereas this was written about the end of July, after a long interval, as he calls it, of about two months.

sanè intervallo, ad quandam epistolam, qua mihi multa tribuens, unum reprehendebas, quòd in honoribus decernendis essem nimius, & tamquam prodigus. Tu hoc: alius fortasse, quòd in animadversione pœnaeque durior; nisi forte utrumque tu. Quod si ita est; utriusque rei meum iudicium tibi cupio esse notissimum: neque solum, ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui & sapientissimus fuit ex septem, & legum scriptor solus ex septem; is rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, præmio & pœna: est scilicet utriusque rei modus, sicut reliquarum, & quædam in utroque genere mediocritas: sed non tanta de re propositum est hoc loco disputare. Quid ego autem secutus hoc bello sim in sententiis dicendis, aperire non alienum puto.

allow me, to have done well in many things, you find fault with me for one; that in conferring honors, I have been too free and even prodigal. You charge me with this; other people probably, with being too severe in punishing; or you yourself perhaps with both [3]. If so, I desire, that my judgement on each may be fully known to you. Not that I mean to justify myself onely by Solon's maxim; the wisest of the Seven [4], and the onely Legislator of them all; who used to say, that the public weal was comprized in two things; rewards and punishments; in which however, as in every thing else, there is a certain medium and temperament to be observed. But it is not my design at this time to discuss so great a subject; yet I think it not improper, to lay open the motives of my opinions and votes in the Senate, from the beginning of this

[3] *Brutus* was often admonishing *Cicero*, of his being more severe in his votes and decrees against their enemies, than the state of their affairs required. Which point *Cicero* disputes with him in these letters, and shews, that, in their present circumstances, severe methods were of more service to the Republic, than that ostentation of lenity which *Brutus* affected. See Lett. 5, 9, 11, 14, &c.

[4] One of the *seven wisemen of Greece*, as they were called; who gave a body of laws to the *Athenians*, about the time in which *Tarquinius Priscus* reigned at *Rome*. A. Uell. 17. 21.

Post interitum Cæsaris, & vestras memorabiles Idus Martias, Brute, quid ego prætermissum a vobis, quantamque impendere reipublicæ tempestatem dixerim, non es oblitus. Magna pestis erat depulsa per vos, magna populi Romani macula deleta: vobis vero parta divina gloria: sed instrumentum regni delatum ad Lepidum & Antonium: quorum alter inconstantior, alter impurior; uterque pacem metuens, inimicus otio. His ardentibus perturbandæ reipublicæ cupiditate, quod opponi posset præsidium, non habebamus. Erexerat enim se civitas in retinenda libertate consentiens. Nos tum nimis acres? vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe ca, quam liberatis: Italiæ sua vobis studia profidenti remisistis. Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem; nec te in

war. *After the death of Cæsar, and those your memorable Ides of March; you cannot forget, Brutus, what I declared to have been omitted by you [5]; and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the Republic. You had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great stain from the Roman people; acquired to yourselves divine glory: yet all the equipage of Kingly power was left still to Lepidus and Antony: the one inconstant; the other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and enemies to the public quiet. While these were ardently wishing, to raise fresh disturbances in the state, we had no troops about us, which we could oppose to them: for the whole City was eager and unanimous in asserting its liberty. I was then thought too violent [6]; whilst you perhaps more wisely withdrew yourselves from that City, which you had delivered; and refused the help of all Italy, that offered to arm itself in your cause [7]. Wherefore when I saw the City in the hands of rebels; and oppressed*

[5] The omission here signified, and frequently complained of by Cicero in his letters to Brutus and the other Conspirators, was that, of not killing Antony, together with Cæsar. Ep. Fam. 1. 12. 3, 4. 10. 28.

[6] See Lett. 5. Note 1.

[7] See Lett. *ibid.* and Note 3.

ea nec Cassium tuto esse posse; eamque armis oppressam ab Antonino; mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Tætrum enim spectaculum, oppressa ab impiis civitas opitulandi potestate præcisa. Sed animus idem, qui semper infixus est patriæ caritate, discessum ab ejus periculis ferre non potuit: itaque in medio Achaïco cursu, cum, Etesiarum diebus, Auster me in Italiam, quasi dissuasor mei consilii, retulisset; te vidi Velix, doluique vehementer. Cedebas enim; Brute, cedebas; quoniam Stoici nostri negant fugere sapientis. Romam ut veni, statim me obtuli Antonii sceleri atque dementiæ: quem cum in me incitavissem, consilia inire cœpi Brutina planè

by the arms of Antony; and that neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too. For a City overpowered by Traitors, without the means of relieving itself, is a wretched spectacle. Yet my mind, always the same, and ever fixed on the love of my country, could not bear the thought of leaving it in it's distress. In the midst therefore of my voyage to Greece, and in the very season of the Etesian winds [8], when an uncommon south wind, as if displeased with my resolution, had driven me back to Italy, I found you at Velia; and was greatly concerned at it [9.] For you were retreating, Brutus; were retreating, I say; since your Stoics will not allow their wiseman to fly [10]. As soon as I came to Rome, I exposed myself to the wickedness and rage of Antony [11]: whom when I had exasperated against me, I began to enter into measures, in the very spirit

[8] The *Etesian* winds were so called, from their being *annual*, or constant every year, in the Season of the Dog-days; blowing from the *north*, or *north-west*; and favourable therefore, as it is here hinted, for sailing from *Sicily* into *Greece*. Plin. H. N. 2. 47.

[9] See Lett. 19. Note 10, 11.

[10] *Brutus*, though he professed himself to be of the *old Academy*, yet was a great favorer and imitator of the *Stoics*; whom *Cicero* calls therefore *your Stoics*. These maintained, that a wiseman could not be moved by any passion; and was incapable therefore of fearing, or flying from any thing; and that it was his part to resist, whatever was contrary to nature and reason, and either to conquer or die.

[11] By speaking his first *Philippic* to the Senate.

(vestri enim hæc sunt propria sanguinis) reipublicæ liberandæ. Longa sunt, quæ restant, prætereunda: sunt enim de me: tantum dico; Cæsarem hunc adolescentem, per quem adhuc sumus, si verum fateri volumus, fluxisse ex fonte consiliorum meorum. Huic habiti à me honores nulli quidem, Brute, nisi debiti; nulli, nisi necessarii. Ut enim primum
 • libertatem revocare cœpimus, cum se nondum ne Decimi quidem Bruti divina virtus ita commovisset, ut jam id scire possemus; atque omne præsidium esset in puero, qui à cervicibus nostris avertisset Antonium; quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam. Decevi etiam imperium: quod quamquam videbatur illi ætati honorificum, tamen erat exer-

of the Brutus's, (for such are peculiar to your blood) for the delivery of the Republic. I shall omit the long recital of what followed, since it relates to myself; and observe only, that this young Cæsar, by whom, if we are willing to confess the truth, we subsist at this day, flowed from the source of my counsils [12]. I decreed him no honors, Brutus, but what were due; none, but what were necessary. For when we first began to recover any liberty, while the divine virtue of D. Brutus had not yet shewn itself so far, that we could know it's real force [13]; and our whole defence was in the boy, who had repelled Antony from our necks; what honor was not really due to him? though I gave him nothing. still but the praise of words; and that even moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal command [14]; which, though it seemed honorable to one of that age, was yet necessary to

[12] All the service, which the Republic had hitherto received from Octavius, and which Brutus himself, in the following letter, owns to be very great, were intirely derived from Cicero's authority and management of him. Vid. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

[13] Before the act of killing Cæsar, D. Brutus does not seem to have had any particular character of virtue or Patriotism; nor after that act, to have given any remarkable proof of his vigor, till his seizure of Cisalpine Gaul, in opposition to Antony, and his brave defence of Modena.

[14] See Philip. 5. 16.

citum habenti necessarium : quid enim est sine imperio exercitus? Statuam Philippus decrevit; celeritatem petitionis primò Servius; post, majorem etiam Servilius : nihil tum nimium videbatur. Sed nescio quomodo facilius in timore benigni, quam in victoria grati reperiuntur. Ego enim, D. Bruto liberato, cum lætissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset, idemque casu Bruti natalis esset, decrevi, ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen adscriberetur : in eoque sum majorum exemplum secutus, qui hunc honorem mulieri Larentiæ tribuerunt ; cui vos pontifices ad aram in Velabro facere soletis : quod ego cum dabam Bruto,

one, who had an army : for what is an army without such a command? Philippus decreed him a Statue [15]; Servius, the privilege of suing for offices before the legal time [16]; which time was shortened afterwards by Servilius [17]. Nothing was then thought too much. But men are apt, I know not how, to be more liberal in fear, than gratefull in success. When D. Brutus was delivered from the Siege [18]; a day of all others the most joyous to the City, and which happened also to be his birth-day, I decreed, that his name should be ascribed for ever to that day in the public Kalendars. In which I followed the example of our Ancestors, who paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia [19]; at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites in the Velabrum [20]. By giving this to D. Brutus, my design was,

[15] *Philippus* was his Father-in-law. See Lett. 15. Not. 17.

[16] *Servius Sulpicius*, a Senator of the first dignity, who died upon an Embassy from the Senate to *Antony*. See his character at large in Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 361.

[17] *P. Servilius*, see Lett. 3. Note 6.

[18] From the Siege of *Modena*, by the defeat of *Antony*.

[19] The old writers give various accounts of the history of this *Larentia*; and of the origin of the rites, which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that she was *Romulus's* Nurse; and left some considerable lands at her death to the people of *Rome*; and that *Romulus*, out of piety to her memory, appointed a yearly Festival and Sacrifice to be celebrated at her Sepulcher. A. Gell. 6. 7. Macrob. Sat. 1. 10.

[20] *Velabrum* was a Street, or Square in Old *Rome*, where the *Forum Boarium*, and Temple of *Janus* stood. Marlian. Röm. Topogr. 1. 4. c. 4.

notam esse in fastis gratissimæ victoriæ sempiternam volebam : atqui illo die cognovi paullo plures in senatu malevolos esse quàm gratos. Eos per ipsos dies effudi (si ita vis) honores in mortuos Hirtium & Pansam; Aquilam etiam : quod quis reprehendit, nisi qui, deposito metu, præteriti periculi fuerit oblitus? Accedebat ad beneficii memoriam gratam ratio illa, quæ etiam posteris esset salutaris. Existare enim volebam in crudelissimos hostes monumenta odii publici sempiterna. Suspicio illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus, optimis illis quidem viris, sed in republica rudibus, non probatur; quòd, ut ovanti introire Cæsari lice-

to fix in the Kalendars a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable victory. But I perceived on that day, that there was more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the Senate. During these same days, I poured out honors (since you will have it so) on the deceased, Hirtius, and Pansa, and Aquila also [21]: and who can find fault with it, but those, who when fear is once over, forget their past danger? But besides the gratefull remembrance of services, there was a view in it that reached to posterity: for I was desirous, that there should remain an eternal monument of the public hatred, to our most cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt, which does not please you; for it does not please your people here; who, though excellent men, have but little experience in public affairs; that I decreed an Ovation to Cæsar [22]: but for

[21] He decreed a Thanksgiving of 50 days, with the title of *Emperor*, to the two Consuls, after the first battel; while they were both supposed to be living; as we may see from his 14th *Philippic*; but there is no account, in any part of his writings, of the honors, which he decreed to them after their death; nor to *Pontius Aquila*; one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, who was killed at the same time: to whom however, as *Dio* tells us, a *Statue* was decreed. l. 46. 317.

[22] An Ovation was a petty, or *pedestrian Triumph*, as the Greek writers call it: in which the General, instead of being introduced in a Chariot, marched on foot with his army, through the City to the *Capitol*, crowned with *Myrtle*, instead of *Laurel*, which was peculiar to the *Triumph*. It was decreed usually, in the place of a *Triumph*, where the war was less formidable and dangerous, and the victory consequently of less importance; or, as in the present case, where it was not over a foreign or proper enemy. Thus *M. Crassus* received the same honor, for putting an end to the fervile war in *Italy*. See *Life of Cic.* v. 1. p. 69.

ret, decreverim. Ego autem (sed erro fortasse; nec tamen is sum, ut mea me maximè delectent) nihil mihi videor hoc bello sensisse prudentius. Cur autem ita sit, aperiendum non est; ne magis videar providus fuisse quàm gratus: hoc ipsum nimium: quare alia videamus. D. Bruto decrevi honores; decrevi L. Planco. Præclara illa quidem ingenia, quæ gloria invitantur: sed senatus etiam sapiens, qui, quæ quemque reputat, modò honesta, ad rem publicam juvandam posse adduci, hac utitur. At in Lepido reprehendimur; cui cum statuam in rostris statuissimus, iidem illam evertimus. Nos illum honore studuimus à furore revocare: vicit amentia levissimi hominis nostram prudentiam: nec tamen tantum in statuenda Lepidi statua factum est mali, quantum in ever-

my part, (though I may perhaps be mistaken: nor am I yet one of those, who are the most pleased always with what is their own;) I cannot but think, that I have advised nothing more prudent during this war. Why it is so, is not proper to be explained; lest I be thought, to have been more provident in it, than grateful [23]. But even this is too much: let us pass therefore to other things. I decreed honors to D. Brutus; decreed them to Plancus. They must be men of great souls, who are attracted by glory: but the Senate also is certainly wise, in trying every art, that is honest, by which any one can be engaged to the service of the Republic. But I am blamed in the case of Lepidus: to whom after I had raised a Statue in the Rostra, I presently threw it down again. My view was, to reclaim him by that honor from desperate measures; but the madness of an inconstant man got the better of my prudence: nor was there yet so much harm in erecting, as good in demolishing the Sta-

[23] By this decree of an *Ovation*, Cicero meant, not only to confer a proper honor on *Octavius*, agreeably to the usage of the Republic; but, as he here intimates, had a farther view in it, which seems to be this; that whenever *Octavius* should take the benefit of it, his command would cease of course, by his very entrance into the City, and his army consequently might be transferred to another General: for this had ever been the practice of the Republic. But in times of such confusion, neither law nor custom were regarded by any, who had the power to over-rule them.

tenda, boni. Satis multa de honoribus: nunc de pœna pauca sunt dicenda. Intellexi enim ex tuis sæpe litteris; te in iis, quos bello devicisti, clementiam tuam velle laudari. Existimo equidem nihil à te, nisi sapienter. Sed sceleris pœnam prætermittere, (id enim est quod vocatur ignoscere) etiam si in cæteris rebus tolerabile est, in hoc bello perniciosum puto. Nullum enim bellum civile fuit in nostra republica omnium, quæ memoria mea fuerunt, in quo bello non, utrumque pars vicisset, tamen aliqua forma esset futura reipublicæ: hoc bello victores quam rempublicam simus habituri, non facile affirmarim; victis certe nulla unquam erit. Dixi igitur

the [24]. But I have said enough concerning honors, and must say a word or two about punishments; for I have often observed from your letters, that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by your treatment of those, whom you have conquered in war [25]. I can imagine nothing to be done by you, but what is wisely done. But to omit the punishment of wickedness, which we call pardoning, though it may be tolerable in other cases, I take to be pernicious in this war. For of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there was not one, in which, what side soever got the better, there would not have remained some form of a Commonwealth: Yet in this, what sort of a Republic we are like to have, if we conquer, I would not easily affirm; but if we are conquered, we are sure to have none [26]. My votes therefore

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[24] The gilt equestrian Statue, which Cicero had decreed to Lepidus, [Lett. 17. Not. 4.] was ordered to be demolished most probably at the time, when he was declared an enemy by the Senate, on the 30th of June: [Ep. Fam. 12. 10.] the reference therefore here made to it, shews, that this letter could not be written till July.

[25] This refers to his manner of treating C. Antonius, so often mentioned above. Lett. 5, 9, 14, &c.

[26] Cicero reckons up four civil wars, besides the present, which had happened in his memory; viz. of Sylla with Marius and Sulpicius; of Cinna with Octavius; of Sylla again, with young Marius and Carbo; and of Caesar with Pompey. Each of which arose, he says, from a contention onely of opposite parties in the State, and had a plausible pretext for taking arms; to defend their several rights and honors in the City; and

tur sententias in Antonium, dixi in Lepidum severas: neque tam ulciscendi causa, quam ut & in præsens sceleratos cives timore ab impugnanda patria deterrerem; & in posterum, documentum statuerem, ne quis talem amentiam vellet imitari: quamquam hæc quidem sententia, non magis mea fuit, quam omnium: in qua videtur illud esse crudele; quod ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, pœna pervenit. Sed id & antiquum est, & omnium civitatum: siquidem etiam Themistoclis liberi eguerunt; & si iudicio damnatos eadem pœna sequitur cives, qui potuimus leniores esse in hostes? Quid autem queri potest quisquam de me, qui si vicisset, acerbio-

were severe against Antony; severe against Lepidus; not from any spirit of revenge; but to deter wicked Citizens at the present, from making war against their country; and to leave an example to posterity, that none hereafter might be disposed to imitate such rashness. Yet this very vote was not more mine, than it was every body's: in which there seems, I own, to be something cruel, that the punishment should reach to children, who have done nothing to deserve it: but the constitution is both ancient, and of all Cities: for even Themistocles's children were reduced to want [27]: and since the same punishment falls upon Citizens, condemned of public crimes, how was it possible for us to be more gentle towards enemies? but what reason can any man have to complain of me, who, if he had conquered, must needs confess, that

and to prevent the unworthy from getting the ascendant: whereas the present war with *M. Antony* was a contention of force and power, against an union of all parties; where nothing was aimed at or pretended, but an avowed Tyranny, and the utter overthrow of the Republic. Philip, 8, 2.

[27] *Themistocles* was condemned of treason, in his absence, by the *Athenians*, and his estate confiscated. But his Sons *Neocles* and *Demophilus* are said to have returned afterwards privately to *Athen*, where they continued for some time incognito; till upon the occasion of certain funeral games, *Neocles* won the prize in the long course, and his Brother in the *Stadium* or short course; for which they were both publicly crowned. Yet as soon as they came to be known, they had like to have been stoned to death upon the spot by their Father's enemies. *Plato* mentions a third Son, called *Diophantus*, as a perfect master of all the arts and exercises, that were esteemed the accomplishments of a Gentleman. Vid. *Cœlius Rhodig. Antiquar. lect. 1, 14. c. 12.*

rem se in me futurum fuisse confiteatur necesse est? Habes rationem mearum sententiarum, de hoc genere duntaxat honoris & pœnæ: nam de cæteris rebus quid senserim, quidque censuerim, audisse te arbitror. Sed hæc quidem non ita necessaria: illud valde necessarium, Brute, te in Italiam cum exercitu venire quàm primum: summa est exspectatio tui: quod si Italiam attigeris, ad te concursus fiet omnium. Sive enim vicerimus; (qui quidem pulcherrimè viceramus, nisi Lepidus perdere omnia, & perire ipse cum suis concupivisset) tua nobis auctoritate opus est ad collocandum aliquem civitatis statum: sive etiam nunc certamen reliquum est; maxima spes est cum in auctoritate tua, tum in exercitus tui viribus. Sed propera, per deos: scis enim, quantum sit in temporibus, quantum in celeritate. Sororis tuæ filiis quàm diligenter consulam; spero te ex matris & ex sororis litteris cogniturum:

he would have treated me even with greater severity? You have now the grounds of my opinions, as far as they relate to the case of rewards and punishments: for as to other points, you have heard, I suppose, what my sentiments, and votes have been. But the mention of these is not so necessary: what I am going to mention, Brutus, is greatly so; that you come with your army to Italy, as soon as possible. There is the utmost expectation of you. Whenever you set foot in Italy, all the world will run to you. For whether it be our lot to conquer, (as we had done already most finely, if Lepidus had not been desirous to overturn all, and to perish himself with his friends) there will be a great want of your authority, in order to settle some state of a City amongst us: or if there be any danger or struggle still behind, our greatest hope is in your authority, as well as in the strength of your army. But hasten to us, for God's sake: for you know, how much depends on opportunity; how much on dispatch. What diligence I shall use in the care of your Sister's children, you will be informed, I hope, by the letters of your Mother and
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qua in causa majorem habeo rationem tuæ voluntatis, quæ mihi carissima est, quàm, ut quibuscumque videor, constantiæ meæ: sed ego nulla in re malo quàm te amando constans & esse & videri.

Sister: in whose cause I have more regard to your will, which is ever most dear to me, than as some think, to my own constancy [28]. But it is my desire, both to be, and to appear constant, in nothing so much, as in loving you.

EPISTOLA XXII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

EPIST. XXII.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

Particulam litterarum tuarum, quas misisti Octavio, legi, missam ab Attico mihi. Studium tuum curaque de salute mea nulla me nova voluptate affecit. Non solum enim usitatum, sed etiam quotidianum est, aliquid audire

I Have read a small part of your letter, which you sent to Octavius, transmitted to me by Atticus [1]. Your zeal and concern for my safety gave me no new pleasure: for it is not only common, but our daily news, to hear something, which you have said or done

[28] We see from this passage, what a great regard Cicero paid, even against his own judgement, to Brutus's remonstrance, on the behalf of Lepidus's children; since he was now contriving some method to exempt them from the legal effects of the decree of the Senate, so as to prevent their being involved in the ruin of their father's fortunes. See Lett. 17, 18.

[1] When Cicero, soon after the victory of Modena, saw their affairs taking a turn, quite contrary to his hopes: and that Octavius especially, by his demand of the Consulate, as well as by every other step, seemed to be entering into measures, to oppress the Republic, and to revenge his Uncle's death. He took occasion, as we may imagine, in strong and pathetic terms, to dissuade him from those counsils; and to exhort him to a reconciliation with Brutus; and to the observance of that amnesty, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of their future peace. This letter was communicated by him to Atticus; who highly approving it, and not doubting, but that Brutus would be pleased with it too, sent Brutus a copy of that part, which related to him, and which gave occasion to the present expostulation from him.

de te, quod pro nostra dignitate fideliter atque honorificè dixeris aut feceris. At dolore, quantum animo maximum capere possum, eadem illa pars epistolæ, scriptæ ad Octavium tibi nobis, affecit. Sic enim illi gratias agis de republica; tam suppliciter ac demissè; (quid scribam? pudet conditionis ac fortunæ; sed tamen scribendum est. Commendas nostram salutem illi, quæ morte qua non perniciosior?) ut prorsus præ te feras, non sublata dominationem, sed dominum commutatum esse. Verba tua recognosce; & aude negare, servientis adversus regem istas esse preces. Unum ais esse, quod ab eo postuletur & expectetur: ut eos cives, de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet, salvos velit. Quid si nolit? non erimus? Atqui, non esse, quàm esse per illum, præstat. Ego, inediis fidius, non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse à salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro sa-

with your usual fidelity, in the support of my honour and dignity. Yet that same part of your letter, written to Octavius concerning me, affected me with the most sensible grief, that my mind is capable of receiving. For you compliment him so highly for his services to the Republic; in a strain so suppliant and abject; that—what shall I say? I am ashamed of the condition and fortune, to which we are reduced—yet it must be said—you recommend my safety to him; (to which what death is not preferable?) and plainly shew, that our servitude is not yet abolished, but our master only changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, if you dare, to be the prayers of a slave to his King. There is one thing, you say, which is required and expected from him, that he will allow those Citizens to live in safety, of whom all honest men, and the people of Rome think well. But what, if he will not allow it? Shall we be the less safe for that? It is better not to be safe, than to be made safe by him. For my part, I can never think all the Gods so averse to the safety of the Roman people, that Octavius must be entreated

lutè cujusquam civis ; non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui ; & certe decet, adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum sit. Hoc tu, Cicero, posse fateris Octavium, & illi amicus es ? aut, si me carum habes, vis Romæ videri ; cum, ut ibi esse possem, commendandus puero illi fuerim ? Cui quid agis gratias, si, ut nos salvos esse velit & patiatur, rogandum putas ? An hoc pro beneficio est habendum, quòd se, quàm Antonium, esse maluerit, à quo ista petenda essent ? Vindici quidem alienæ dominationis, non vicario, ecquis supplicat, ut optime meritis de republica liceat esse salvis ? Ista verò imbecillitas & desperatio, cujus culpa non magis in te residet quam in omnibus aliis, & Cæsarem in cupiditatem regni impulit, & Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur : & nunc puerum istum

for the life of any one Citizen ; I will not say, for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleasure, to talk thus magnificently ; and it becomes me surely to those, who know not either what to fear for any one, or what to ask of any one. Can you, Cicero, allow Octavius to have this power, and be still a friend to him ? Or if you have any value for me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when I must first be recommended to the boy, that he would permit me to be there ? What reason have you to thank him, if you think it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant and suffer us to live in safety ? Or is it to be reckoned a kindness, that he chuses to see himself, rather than Antony, in the condition, to have such petitions addressed to him ? One may supplicate indeed the successor, but never the avenger of another's Tyranny ; that those, who have deserved well of the Republic, may be safe. It was this weakness and despair, not more blameable indeed in you, than in all, which first pushed on Cæsar to the ambition of reigning ; and after his death, determined Antony to attempt to seize his place ; and has now raised this boy so high, extulit,

extulit, ut tu iudicares precibus esse impetrandam salutem talibus viris; misericordiaque unius, vix etiam nunc viri, tutos fore nos; haud ulla alia re. Quòd si Romanos nos esse ineminissemus, non audacius dominari cuperent postremi homines, quàm id nos prohiberemus: neque magis irritatus esset Antonius regno Cæsaris, quàm ob ejusdem mortem deterritus. Tu quidem consularis & tantorum scelerum vindex, (quibus oppressis vereor ne in breve tempus dilata sit abs te perniciēs) qui potes intueri quæ gesseris, simul & ista vel probare, vel ita demisse ac faciliè pati, ut probantis speciem habeas? Quod autem tibi cum Antonio privatum odium? nempe quia postulabat hæc; salutem ab se peti; precariam nos incolumitatem habere, à quibus ipse libertatem accepisset; esse arbitrium suum de republica. Quærenda esse arma putasti, quibus dominari prohiberetur; scilicet, ut illo prohibito, rogaremus alterum,

that you judge it necessary, to address your prayers to him, for the preservation of men of our rank; and that we can be saved only by the mercy of one, scarce yet a man; and by no other means. But if we had remembered ourselves to be Romans, these most infamous men would not be more daring, to grasp at dominion, than we, to repel it: nor would Antony be more encouraged by Cæsar's reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a Consular, and the avenger of so many treasons, (by suppressing which, you have but postponed our ruin, I fear, for a little time) reflect on what you have done, and yet approve these things; or bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to approve them? For what particular hatred had you to Antony? No other; but because he assumed all this to himself; that our lives should be begged of him; our safety be precarious, from whom he had received his liberty; and the Republic depend upon his will and pleasure. You thought it necessary to take up arms, to prevent him from tyrannizing over us: but was it your intent, that by pre-

quî se in ejus locum reponi pateretur, an ut esset sui juris ac mancipii respublica? nisi fortè non de servitute, sed de conditione serviendi recusatum est à nobis. Atqui non solum bono domino potuimus Antonio tolerare nostram fortunam; sed etiam beneficiis atque honoribus, ut participes, frui quantis vellemus: quid enim negaret iis, quorum patientiam videret maximum suæ dominationis præsidium esse? Sed nihil tanti fuit, quo vendere-mus fidem nostram & libertatem. Hic ipse puer, quem Cæsaris nomen incitare videtur in Cæsaris interfectores, quanti æstimet (si sit commercio locus) posse, nobis auctoribus, tantum, quantum profectò poterit; quoniam vivere, & pecunias habere & dici consulares volumus? ceterum nequicquam perierit ille: cujus interitu quid gavisi sumus; si mortuo nihilo minùs servituri eramus? Nulla cura adhibeatur. Sed mihi priùs omnia diu deæque eripuerint, quàm illud

venting him, we might sue to another, who would suffer himself to be advanced into his place; or that the Republic might be free and mistress of itself? As if our quarrel was not perhaps to slavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might have had, not onely an easy master in Antony, if we would have been content with that fortune, but whatever share with him we pleased, of favors and honors. For what could be deny to those, whose patience, he saw, was the best support of his government? But nothing was of such value to us, that we would sell our faith and liberty for it. Would not this very boy, whom the name of Cæsar seems to incite against the destroyers of Cæsar, think it worth any price, if there was room to traffic with him, to be enabled by our help, to maintain all that power, which he now enjoys? Since we have a mind to live, and to be rich, and to be Consulars? But then Cæsar must have perished in vain. For what reason had we to rejoice at his death; if after it, we were still to continue slaves? Let other people be as indolent, as they please: but as for me, may the Gods and God-judi-

judiciū, quo non modo heredi ejus, quem occidi, non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat; ut patiente me, plus legibus ac senatu possit. An hoc tibi persuasum est, fore cæteros ab eo liberos, quo invito nobis in ista civitate locus non sit? Quī porrò id, quod petis, fieri potest, ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos salvos esse. Videmur ergo tibi salutem accepturi, cum vitam acciperimus? quam, si prius dimittimus dignitatem & libertatem, quī possumus accipere? An tu Romæ habitare, id putas incolumem esse? Res non locus oportet præstet istuc mihi: neque incolumis fui Cæsare vivo, nisi postquam illud confisci facinus: neque usquam exsul esse possum, dum servire & pati contumelias, pejus odero malis omnibus aliis. Nonne hoc est in easdem tenebras recidisse, quum ab eo, qui tyranni nomen ascrivit sibi, (cum in Græ-

desse deprive me sooner of every thing, than the resolution, of not allowing to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man himself; nor would suffer even in my Father, were he living; to have more power, than the laws and the Senate. How can you imagine, that the rest of you can ever be free under him, without whose leave there is no place for us in that City? Or how is it possible for you after all, to obtain what you ask? You beg, that he would allow us to be safe. Shall we then receive safety, think you, when we have received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we first part with our honor and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at Rome, is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the place, which must secure that to me: for I was never safe, while Cæsar lived; till I had resolved with myself upon that attempt: nor can I in any place live in exile, as long as I hate slavery and insults above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into the same state of darkness; when he, who has taken upon him the name of the Tyrant, (though in the Cities of Greece,

cis civitatibus liberi tyrannorum, oppressis illis, eodem supplicio afficiantur) petitur, ut vindices atque oppressores dominationis salvi sint? Hanc ego civitatem videre velim, aut putem ullam, quæ ne traditam quidem atque inculcatam libertatem recipere possit? Plusque timeat in puero nomen sublatis regis, quàm confidat sibi; cum illum ipsum, qui maximas opes habuerit, paucorum virtute sublatum videat? Me vero posthac ne commendaveris Cæsari tuo: ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies. Valdè carè æstimas tot annos, quot ista ætas recipit, si propter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es. Deinde quod pulcherrimè fecisti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur a laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis. Nam si Octavius tibi placet, à quo de nostra salute

when the Tyrants are destroyed, their children also perish with them) [2] must be entreated, that the avengers of Tyranny may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that City, or think it a City, which has not the power even to accept liberty, when offered, and even forced upon it; but has more dread of the name of their late King, in the person of a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has seen that very King taken off, in the utmost height of power, by the virtue of a few? Do not recommend me therefore any more to your Cæsar; nor yourself indeed, if you will hearken to me. You set a very high value on the few years, which remain to you at that age, if for the sake of them, you can supplicate that boy. But take care after all, lest what you have done, and are doing so laudably against Antony, instead of being applauded, as the effect of a great mind, be not charged to the account of your fear. For if you are pleased with Octavius so, as to petition him for our Safety, you

[2] Brutus puts Cicero here in mind, that Octavius, the adopted Son of Cæsar, instead of meriting the honors, which had been decreed to him, deserved to have been killed with his father, according to the usage of ancient Greece: yet we have seen above, how differently he thought in the case of Lepidus's children, and how anxious he was, to preserve them from suffering any diminution even of their fortunes, on the account of their Father's treason. See Lett. 18.

petendum sit; non dominum fugisse, sed amiciorem dominum quæsisse videberis. Quem quod laudas ob ea, quæ adhuc fecit, plane probo: sunt enim laudanda; si modo contra alienam potentiam, non pro sua suscepit eas actiones. Cum vero judicas, tantum illi non modo licere, sed etiam a te ipso tribuendum esse, ut rogandus sit, ne nolit esse nos salvos; nimium magnam mercedem statuis. Id enim ipsum illi largiris, quod per illum habere videbatur respublica. Neque hoc tibi in mentem venit; si Octavius ullis dignus sit honoribus, quia cum Antonio bellum gerat; iis, qui illud malum exciderint, cujus istæ reliquæ sunt, nihil, quo expleri possit eorum meritum, tributurum unquam populum Romanum, si omnia simul congererit. At vide, quanto diligentius homines metuant, quam meminerint, quia Antonius vivat, atque in armis sit. De Cæsare verò, quod fieri potuit ac debuit, transactum

will be thought, not to have disliked a master, but to have wanted a more friendly one. As to your praising him, for the things, that he has hitherto done, I intirely approve it; for they deserve to be praised; provided that he undertook them, to repel other men's power; not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him, not onely to have this power, but that you yourself ought to submit to it so far, as to entreat him, that he would not destroy us; you pay him too great a recompense: for you ascribe that very thing to him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy through him: nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if Octavius be worthy of any honors, because he wages war with Antony; that those, who extirpated the very evil, of which these are but the reliques, can never be sufficiently requited by the Roman people; though they were to heap upon them every thing, that they could bestow. But see how much stronger people's fears are than their memories, because Antony still lives, and is in arms. But as to Cæsar, all that could and

est

est : neque jam revocari in integrum potest. Octavius is est, qui quid de nobis judicaturus sit, expectet populus Romanus ? Nos hi sumus, de quorum salute unus homo rogandus videatur ? Ego verò, ut istuc revertar, is sum, qui non modò non supplicem, sed etiam coerceam postulantes, ut sibi supplicetur. Aut longè a fervientibus abero, ibique esse iudicabo Romam, ubicumque liberum esse licebit : ac vestri miserebor ; quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuire potuerit. Mihi quidem ita beatus esse videbor, si modò constanter ac perpetuò placebit hoc consilium, ut relatam putem gratiam pietati meæ. Quid enim est melius, quam memoria recte factorum, & libertate contentum negligere humana ? Sed certe non succumbam succumbentibus, nec vincar ab iis qui se vinci volunt : experiarque & tentabo omnia, neque desistam abstrahere a servitio

ought to be done, is past and cannot be recalled. Is Octavius then a person of such importance, that the people of Rome are to expect from him, what he will determine upon us ? Or are we of so little, that any single man is to be entreated for our safety ? As for me, may I never return to you, if ever I either supplicate any man, or do not chastise those, who require such supplications to be made to them : or I will remove to a distance from all such, as can be slaves ; and fancy every place to be Rome, wherever I find it in my power to live free ; and shall pity you, whose fond desire of life, neither age, nor honors, nor the example of other men's virtue has been able to moderate. For my part, I shall ever think myself happy, as long as I continue to be pleased with the persuasion, that my piety has been fully requited. For what can be happier, than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts, and content with liberty, to despise all human affairs ? but I will certainly never yield to those, who are fond of yielding ; or be conquered by those, who are willing to be conquered themselves ; but will first try and attempt every thing ; nor ever desist from dragging our City
fuerit.

civitatem nostram. Si secuta fuerit, quæ debet, fortuna; gaudebimus omnes: sin minus; ego tamen gaudebo. Quibus enim potius hæc vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur, quàm iis, quæ pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos? Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor; ne defatigare, neu diffidas. Semper in præsentibus malis prohibendis, futura quoque, nisi ante sit occursum, explores, ne se insinuent. Fortem & liberum animum, quo & consul & nunc consularis rempublicam vindicasti, sine constantia & æquabilitate nullum esse putaris. Fateor enim duriores esse conditionem spectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ. Benefacta pro debitis exigimus. Si quæ aliter eveniunt; ut decepti ab his, infecto animo reprehendimus. Itaque resistere An-

out of slavery. If such fortune attend me, as I ought to have; we shall all rejoice; if not; I shall rejoice still myself. For how can this life be spent better, than in acts and thoughts, which tend to make my fellow Citizens free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert the cause, through weariness or diffidence. In repelling present evils, have your eye always on the future; lest they insinuate themselves, before you are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and bravery, with which you saved the Republic when Consul, and now again when a Consular, are nothing without constancy and equability. The case of tried virtue, I confess, is harder than of untried. We require services from it, as debts. If in any instance it happens to disappoint us, we blame with resentment, as if we had been deceived by it [3]. Wherefore, for Cicero to act

[3] This maxim is verified by this very letter: wherein Brutus disgusted by the miscarriage of some of Cicero's measures, though projected with the best intention and the greatest prudence, and overlooking all his past services, and glorious struggles for the support of the Republic, chides him with an air of superiority, wholly indecent towards a person of his age and eminent wisdom; as I have remarked elsewhere more at large; where I have compared the merit also of Cicero's conduct with that of Brutus's, from the time of Cæsar's death; as well as the different spirit of the two preceding letters. See Life of Cicero vol. 2. p. 471, 487.

tonio Ciceronem, etsi magna laude dignum est, tamen quia ille consul hunc consularem merito præstare videtur, nemo admiratur. Idem Cicero si flexerit adversus alios iudicium suum, quod tanta firmitate ac magnitudine direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modo reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit sibi, sed etiam præterita evanescere coget. Nihil enim per se amplum est, nisi in quo iudicii ratio exstat. Quia neminem magis decet, quam te, rempublicam amare, libertatisque defensorem esse, vel ingenio & rebus gestis; vel studio atque efflagitatione omnium. Quare non Octavius est rogandus, ut velit nos salvos esse: magis tu te exsuscita; ut eam civitatem, in qua maxima gessisti, liberam atque honestam fore putes, si modo sint populo duces ad resistendum improborum consiliis.

against Antony, though it be a part highly commendable, yet because such a Consul seems of course, to promise such a Consular, no body wonders at it: but if the same Cicero, with respect to others, should waver at last in that resolution, which he has exerted with such firmness and greatness of mind in repelling Antony, he would deprive himself, not only of the hopes of all future glory, but forfeit even that which is past. For nothing is great in itself, but what flows from the result of our judgement: nor does it become any man more than you, to love the Republic, and to be the defender of liberty; on the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or the wishes and expectation of all men. Octavius therefore must not be entreated, to suffer us to live in safety. Do you rather rouse yourself so far, as to think that City, in which you have acted the noblest part, to be ever free and flourishing, as long as there are leaders still to the people, prepared to resist the designs of Traitors.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

EPIST. XXIII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

CUM sæpe te litteris hortatus essem, ut quàm primùm reipublicæ subvenires, in Italiamque exercitum adduceres, neque id arbitrarer dubitare tuos necessarios; rogatus sum à prudentissima & diligentissima fœmina, matre tua, cujus omnes curæ ad te referuntur, & in te consumuntur; ut venirem ad se a. d. iix. kal. Sext. quod ego, ut debui, sine mora feci. Cum autem venissem, Casca aderat, & Labeo, & Scaptius. At illa retulit; quæsititque, quidnam mihi videretur; arcesseremusne te, atque id tibi conducere putare-

After I had often exhorted you by letters [1], to come, as soon as possible, to the relief of the Republic, and bring your army into Italy; and never imagined, that your own people had any scruples about it; I was desired by that most prudent and diligent woman, your mother [2], all whose cares are fixed and employed on you, that I would come to her on the 25th of July; which I did, as I ought, without delay. When I came; Casca, Labeo and Scaptius were with her [3]. She presently entered into the affair, and asked, what my opinion was; whether we should call you home immediately, and whether I took that to be the most for your service; or

[1] These exhortations may be found in every letter, after the union of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, on the 29th of May.

[2] *Brutus's* mother, *Servilia*, had been mistress to *Cæsar*; greatly beloved and entrusted by him; and possessed, by his gift, the confiscated estate of *Pontius Aquila*, a zealous *Pompeian*; who was afterwards an accomplice with her son, in killing *Cæsar*. Yet after *Cæsar's* death, she bore a principal part and had the chief influence in all her son's counsils, to the disgust of *Cicero*: who seems to have distrusted, as well as disliked her management: [Ep. ad Att. 15. 10.] though out of civility to *Brutus*, he mentions her in this letter with great respect. See her character in *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 296.

[3] Of *Casca*; see lett. 15. not. 3; of *Labeo*; lett. 5. not. 15. of *Scaptius*; 4. not. 4.

mus; an tardare & commorari te melius esset. Respondi id, quod sentiebam & dignitati & existimationi tuæ maximè conducere; te primo quoque tempore ferre præsidium labenti & inclinatæ pene reipublicæ. Quid enim abesse censes mali in eo bello, in quo victores exercitus fugientem hostem persequi noluerunt? & in quo incolumis imperator, honoribus amplissimis fortunisque maximis, conjuge, liberis, vobis affinis ornatus, bellum reipublicæ indixerit? Quid dicam in tanto senatus populi que consensu, cum tantum resideat intra muros mali? Maximo autem, cum hæc scribebam, afficiebar dolore; quod cum me pro adolescentulo ac penè puero respublica accepisset vadem, vix videbar, quod promiseram, præstare posse. Est autem gravior & difficilior

thought it better for you to wait, and continue still abroad. I answered, what I believed to be most conducive to your dignity and reputation, that, without loss of Time, you should bring present help to the tottering and almost falling State. For what mischief may not be expected, think you, from that war, where the conquering armies refused to pursue a flying enemy [4]? Where a General unhurt, unprovoked; possessed of the highest honors, and the greatest fortunes; with a wife, children, and near relation to you, has declared war against the Republic [5]. I need not add where in so great a concord of the Senate and the People, there resides still so much disorder within our walls. But the greatest grief, that I feel, while I am now writing, is, to reflect, that when the Republic had taken my word for a Youth, or rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power, to make good, what I promised for him [6]. For it is a thing of greater animi

[4] This, as it is observed above, is to be applied chiefly to *Octavius*, and his army. See lett. 19. not. 5.

[5] *Lepidus*, whose wife was *Brutus's* Sister.

[6] He alludes to that declaration, which he made to the Senate, in his 5th *Philippic*, after he had sent *Octavius* with his army, to act against *Antony* before *Modena*; on which

animi & sententiæ, maximis præsertim in rebus, pro altero, quam pecuniæ, obligatio. Hæc enim solvi potest; & est rei familiaris jactura tolerabilis; reipublicæ quod spoponderis, quemadmodum solvas, nisi is dependi facile patitur, pro quo spoponderis? Quamquam & hunc (ut spero) tenebo multis repugnantibus. Videtur enim in eo esse indoles; sed flexibilis ætas; multique ad depravandum parati: qui, splendore falsi honoris objecto, aciem boni ingenii præstringi posse confidunt. Itaque ad reliquos hic quoque labor mihi accessit; ut omnes adhibeam machinas ad tenendum adolescentem; ne famam subeam temeritatis. Quamquam quæ temeritas est? Magis enim illum, pro qua spopondi, quam me ipsum ob-

moment and difficulty, to engage one's self for the sentiments and principles of another, especially in affairs of the greatest importance, than for money: For this may be paid, and the loss itself be tolerable: But how can you pay, what you stand engaged for to the Republic, unless he, for whom you are engaged, will suffer it to be paid? yet I am still in hopes to hold him, tho' many are plucking him from me: for his natural disposition seems good, tho' his age be flexible [7], and many at hand to corrupt him: who, by throwing in his way the splendor of false honor, think themselves sure of dazzling his good sense and understanding [8]. Wherefore to my other labors, this new one is added, of setting all engines at work, to hold fast the young man, lest I incur the imputation of rashness. Tho' what rashness is it after all? for in truth, I bound him, for whom I engaged my word,

occasion he says, *I will venture, Fathers, to pawn my credit for him to you, and to the people of Rome, and to the whole Republic: which as I am under no necessity of doing, so I should not forwardly venture to do, for fear of incurring the dangerous imputation of rashness, in an affair of the greatest moment. Yet I promise you, Fathers, undertake, and give you my word, that C. Cæsar will always be such a Citizen, as we see him at this day; such an one, as we ought also to desire, and wish him to be.* Phil. 5. 8.

[7] He was but 20 years old. Suet. Aug. c. 26.

[8] His flatterers were now urging him to the demand of the Consulship, which, by the law and usage of Rome, was incompatible with his age, and could be of no other use, but to give him the better opportunity of overturning the Republic.

ligavi.

ligavi. Nec vero pœnitere potest rempublicam, me pro eo sponsondissē; qui fuit in rebus gerendis cum suo ingenio, tum mea promissione constantior. Maximus autem (nisi me forte fallit) in republica nodus est, inopia rei pecuniariæ: obdurescunt enim magis quotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi: quod ex centesima collatum impudenti censu locupletum, in duarum legionum præmiis omne consumitur. Impendent autem infiniti sumptus cum in hos exercitus, quibus nunc defendimur, tum vero in tuum: nam Cassius noster videtur posse satis ornatus veni-

more strongly than myself. Nor has the Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I was his Sponsor: since he has hitherto been the more firm in acting for us; as well from his own temper, as for the sake of my promise. The greatest difficulty in the Republic, if I am not mistaken, is the want of money: for the honest grow every day more and more averse to the name of a tribute [9]: and what was gathered from the hundredth penny [10], where the rich are shamefully rated, is all spent in the rewards of the two Legions [11]. There is an infinite expence upon us, to support the armies, which now defend us; and also yours: for our Cassius seems likely to come sufficiently provided [12]. But I long to talk

[9] This tribute seems to have been a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance, and had been wholly disused in Rome, ever since the conquest of Macedonia by P. Æmilius; which produced a revenue sufficient, to ease the Republic ever after from that burthen, till the present necessity obliged them to renew it. [Plin. H. n. 33. 3.] From the averſion, which even the honest are here said to have shewn to the renewal of it, one cannot but reflect on the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected the Republic in this age, and hastened it's ruin. See life of Cic. V. 2. p. 49.

[10] A tax of 1 per Cent, paid by the month.

[11] The Senate had passed a decree, to insure to the 4th and Martial Legions all the rewards, which Octavius had promised to them, upon their declaring themselves for the authority of the Senate against Antony. Which, after Antony's defeat, they were now making good to them. Philip. 5. 19.

[12] As to Cassius's conduct in this war, and his diligence in providing himself with money, and all other necessaries for the support of it, the reader may see it compared with Brutus's, in Life of Cic. V. 2. p. 469.

re. Sed & hæc, & multa alia coram cupio; idque quam primum. De sororis tuæ filiis non expectavi, Brute, dum scriberes. Omnino jam tempora (bellum enim ducetur) integram tibi causam reservant. Sed ego à principio, cum divinare de belli diuturnitate non possem, ita causam egi puorum in senatu, ut te arbitror è matris litteris potuisse cognoscere. Nec vero ulla res erit unquam, in qua ego non, vel vitæ periculo, ea dicam eaque faciam, quæ te velle, quæque ad te pertinere arbitror. Vale
vi. kalend. Sext.

over this, and many other things with you in person; and that quickly. As to your sister's children, I did not wait, Brutus, till you should write to me: the times themselves, since the war will be drawn into length, reserve the whole affair to you [13]. But from the first, when I could not foresee the continuance of the war, I pleaded the cause of the children in the Senate, in a manner, which you have been informed of, I suppose, by your mother's letters: nor can there ever be any case, where I will not both say and do, at the hazard even of my life, whatever I think agreeable either to your inclination, or your interest. Adieu.
July the 27th.

[13] *Cicero* perceiving *Brutus's* great tenderness for his Sister's children, puts him here again in mind, that before the receipt even of his letters, he had been using his authority with the Senate, to make that matter easy to them: but that without any endeavours of his, the times themselves would throw the affair into his hands, whenever he should come into *Italy*, since the war, by the treachery of *Lepidus*, was now likely to be carried into length

Direction to the Bookbinder.

**Place all the Cuts together immediately after the Preface to
Germana Antiquitatis Monumenta.**

T H E I N D E X.

N. B. *Pref.* stands for *Preface*; *Intr.* for *Introductory Discourse*; *Post.* for *Postscript*; *N.* for *Note*. The Numerals refer to the Volumes, and the Figures to the Pages of the several Tracts.

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ÆSCULAPIUS: supposed by *Origen* to be a Dæmon, cunning in medicine, i. 62. In his temples, all kinds of diseases were believ'd to be cured, 63. iv. 94.

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AMPHIBOLUS, St, believed to owe his faintship to a mistaken passage in the old acts or legends of St *Allan*, and to have been nothing more than the cloke, which St *Allan* happened to have at the time of his execution, iii. 91.

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